BBC

THE WORLD WAR TWO SPIES WHO INSPIRED BOND

HiSTORY MAGAZINE

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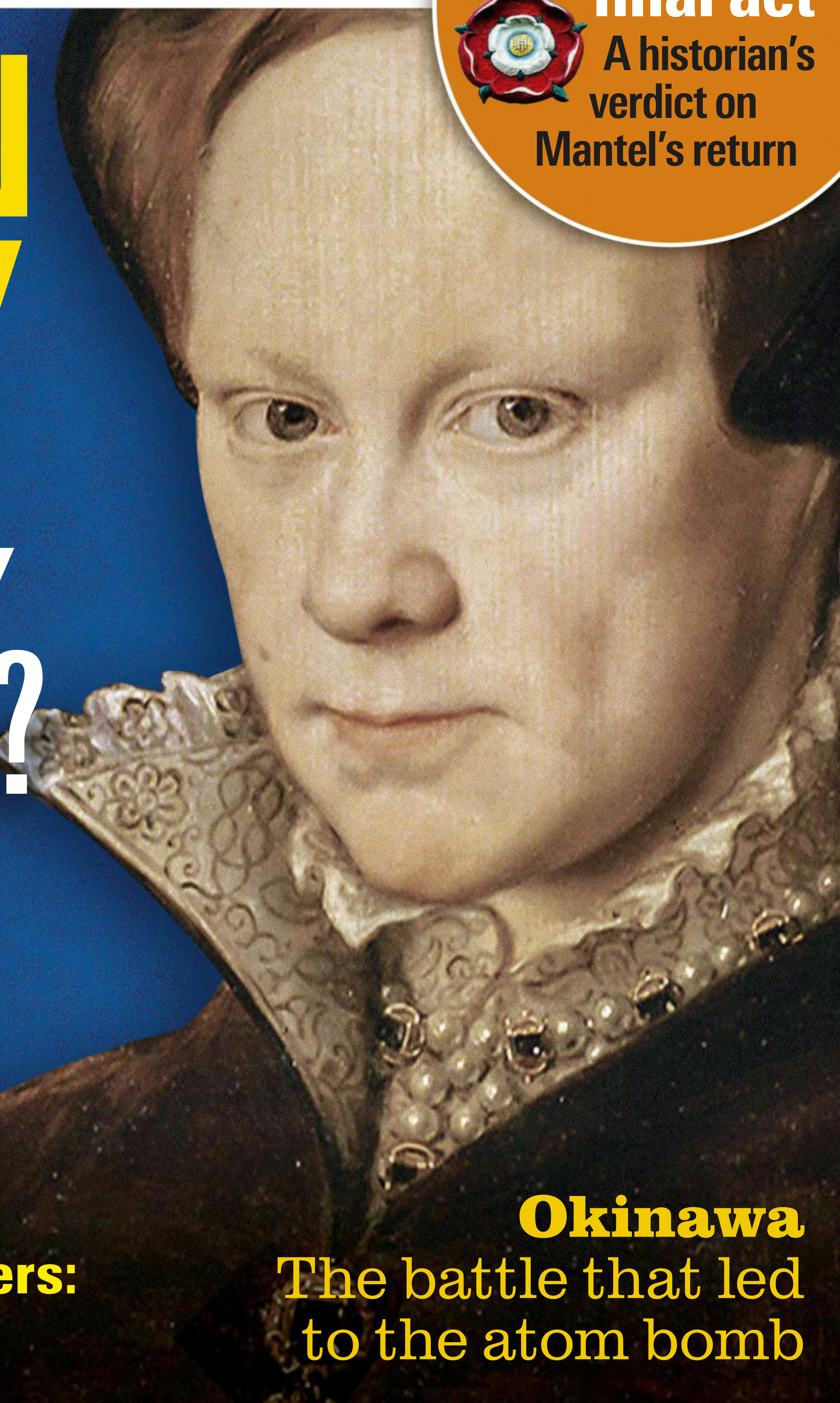
April 2020 / **www.historyextra.com**

BOOK OF THE MONTH

Wolf Hall's final act

A historian's verdict on Mantel's return



QUEEN MARY Bloody or brilliant?

MEDIEVAL SCOTLAND'S CRY FOR FREEDOM

Sex, scandal and stalkers:

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APRIL 2020

“Early last year we received an unusual request. The producers of the next **James Bond** film wanted permission to include a copy of our August 2008 issue in one of the scenes of ***No Time to Die***. At the time of writing I don’t know whether we’ve made the cut, but if you do happen to be heading to the cinema soon, there’s a chance you’ll spy your favourite history magazine – hopefully not in the hands of a diabolical villain. Even if we’re not in the film, there’s still plenty of history to be found in the James Bond story and on page 41 of this month’s magazine, Henry Hemming reveals the true-life inspirations behind Ian Fleming’s most memorable characters.

Another character returning this month is **Thomas Cromwell**, with the final instalment of Hilary Mantel’s ***Wolf Hall*** trilogy now in the shops, and quite possibly already on your bookshelves. For our lead review, on page 72, Tracy Borman offers a historian’s view on ***The Mirror & The Light*** and considers whether it matches up to its phenomenally popular predecessors.

Sticking with the 16th century, our cover feature takes a fresh look at **Mary Tudor**, England’s first queen regnant. Despite her achievements, to many, she’ll always be ‘Bloody Mary’ – as ghastly a monster as anything Ian Fleming or Hilary Mantel could devise. On page 31, Alexander Samson explains why Mary has long been so reviled and offers his assessment of one of our most controversial monarchs.

I hope you enjoy the issue.

Rob Attar
Editor

THIS ISSUE’S CONTRIBUTORS

Henry Hemming

I’ve always been fascinated by the relationship between real spies and their fictionalised counterparts, and in particular the world of espionage that produced James Bond.

Henry shows how Ian Fleming drew inspiration from wartime spies to create Bond on page 41

Pamela Roberts

I was once told that many black people choose not to study at the University of Oxford. This ignited my interest into those that have, and led to my research into the university’s first ever black student, Christian Frederick Cole.

Pamela charts Christian Cole’s amazing life on page 46

Greg Jenner

Celebrity culture doesn’t just titillate and entertain us, it also sets the agenda for what we think is important to discuss, and glues us together.

Greg chats about some of the research for his new history of celebrities on page 68

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BBC History Magazine, PO Box 3320, 3 Queensbridge, Northampton, NN4 7BF. Basic annual subscription rates: UK: £48, Eire/Europe: £67, ROW: £69
Editorial *BBC History Magazine*, Immediate Media Company Bristol Limited, Eagle House, Colston Avenue, Bristol BS1 4ST

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COVER IMAGE: MARY I, PAINTED BY ANTONIS MOR IN 1554-ALAMY/SEAN CONNERY AS JAMES BOND IN A POSTER FOR YOU ONLY LIVE TWICE-GETTY IMAGES/THIS PAGE: STEVE SAYERS/JEFF OVERS/FRAN MONKS

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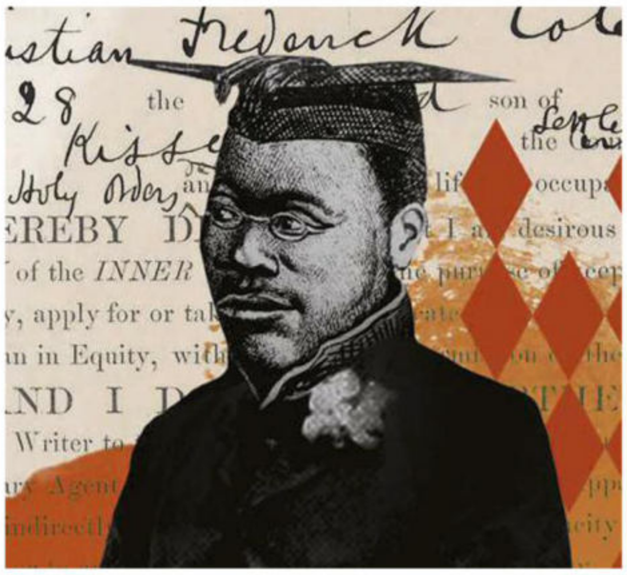

Read about Christian Cole's journey from Sierra Leone to the heart of the British establishment, on page 46

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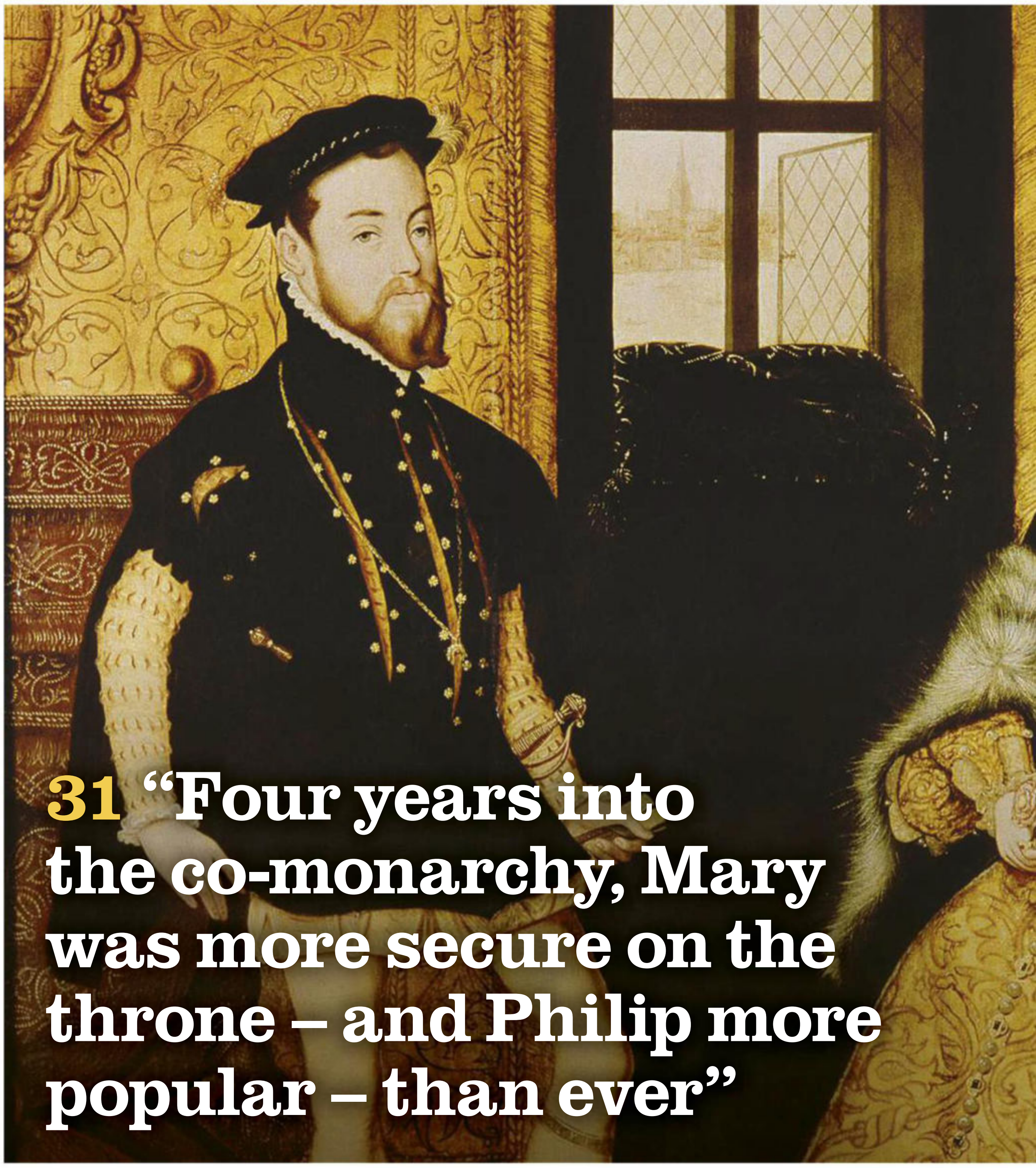
ALAMY/GETTY IMAGES/ELEANOR SHAKESPEARE/BRIDGEMAN



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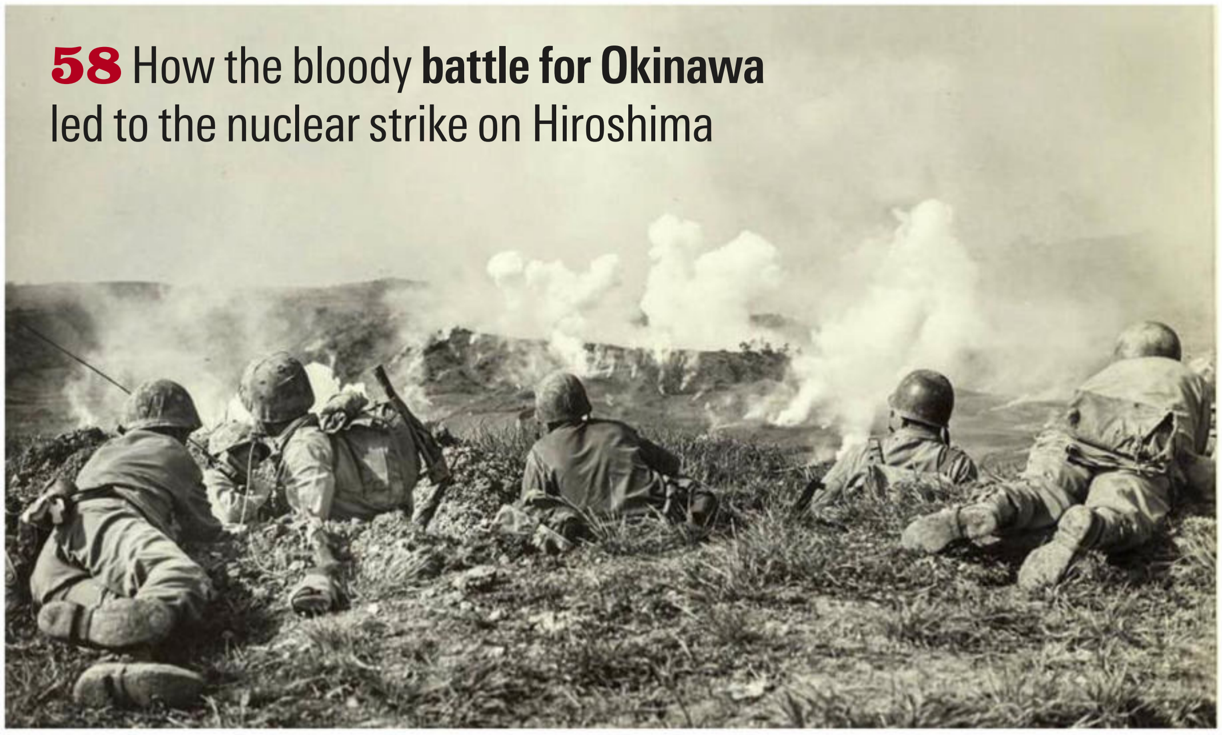

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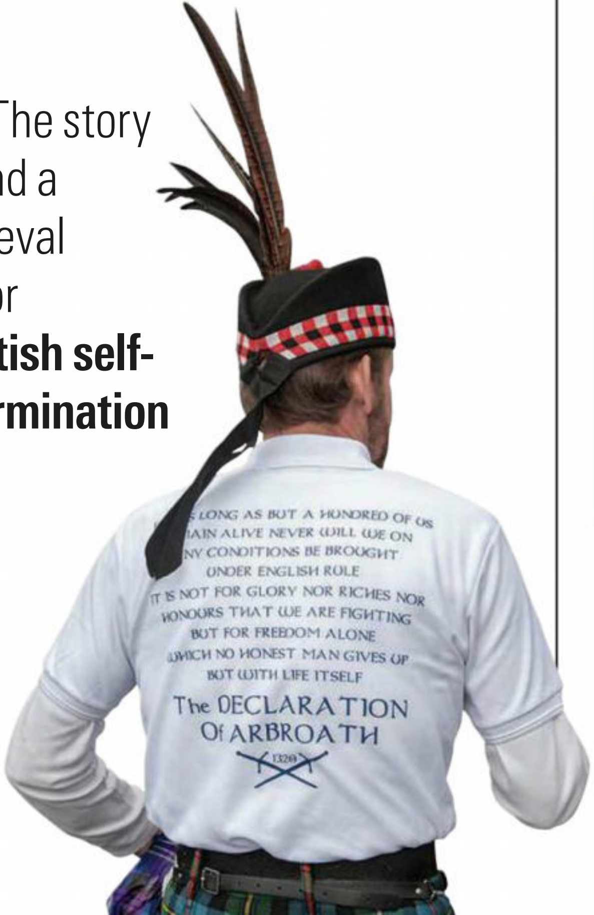
LONG AS BUT A HUNDRED OF US
AIN ALIVE NEVER WILL WE ON
NY CONDITIONS BE BROUGHT
UNDER ENGLISH RULE
IT IS NOT FOR GLORY NOR RICHES NOR
HONOURS THAT WE ARE FIGHTING
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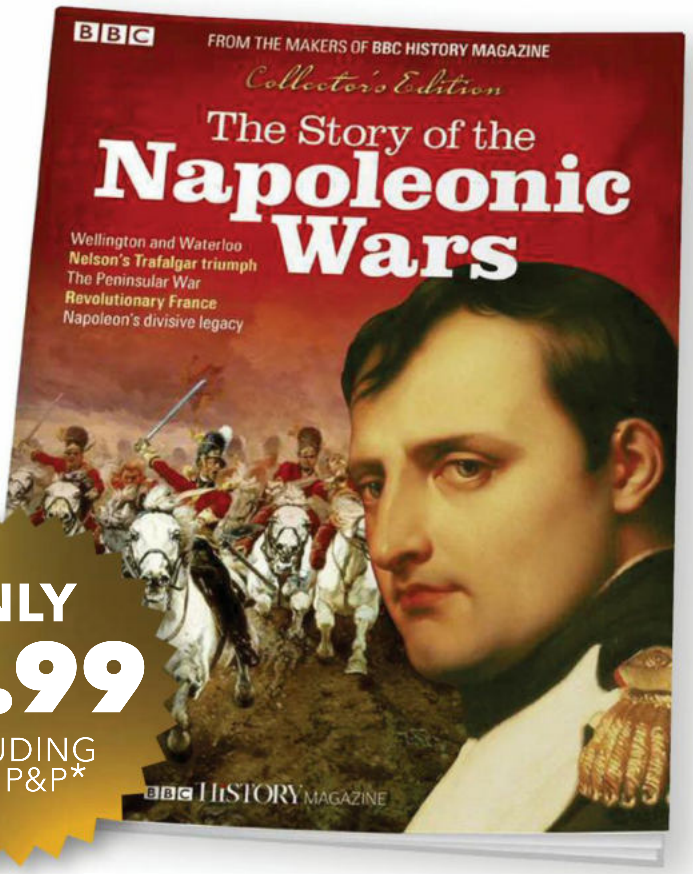

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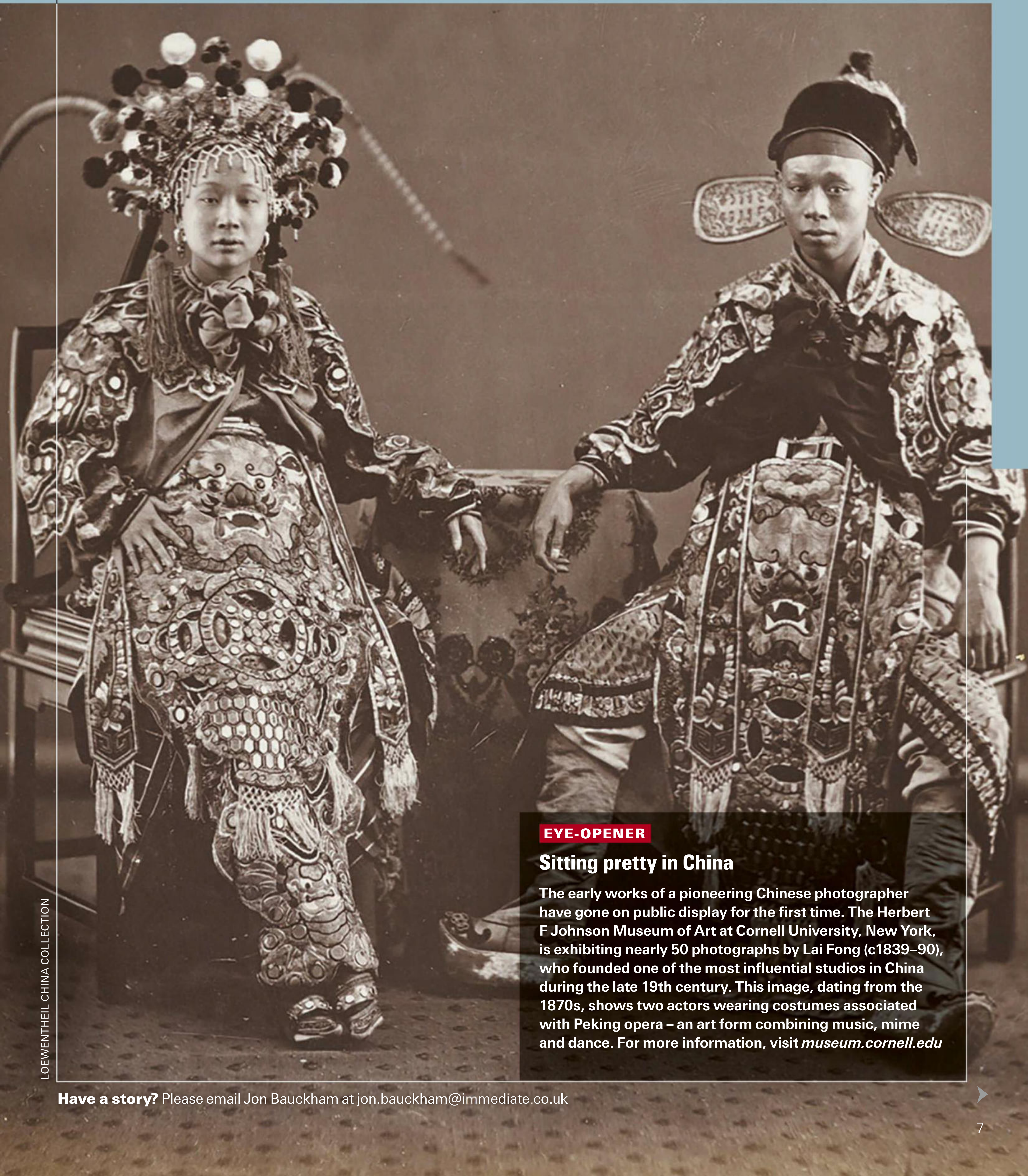
THIS MONTH IN HISTORY



LOEWENTHEIL CHINA COLLECTION

EYE-OPENER

Sitting pretty in China

The early works of a pioneering Chinese photographer have gone on public display for the first time. The Herbert F Johnson Museum of Art at Cornell University, New York, is exhibiting nearly 50 photographs by Lai Fong (c1839–90), who founded one of the most influential studios in China during the late 19th century. This image, dating from the 1870s, shows two actors wearing costumes associated with Peking opera – an art form combining music, mime and dance. For more information, visit *museum.cornell.edu*

Have a story? Please email Jon Bauckham at jon.bauckham@immediate.co.uk

TALKING POINTS

Sources of inspiration

When James Palmer asked fellow historians which scholars of the past they felt a connection with, Twitter was soon abuzz. **ANNA WHITELOCK** looks at how the discussion unfolded

Historians can be rather easily distracted, and they readily responded when **James Palmer** (@Jamespqr77) tweeted: "Tell me a scholar from a previous generation or an earlier era, one you never met when they were alive, but whose work became so important to you that you nevertheless feel a connection with them."

What followed was an incredibly interesting insight into what it is that makes a historian influential beyond the time and field within which they were writing.

Of the many names, one that frequently cropped up was that of French historian Marc Bloch. As **Sara Georgini** (@sarageorgini) put it: "Reading *Feudal Society* completely shaped how I approach the many ideas, peoples, and cultures of vast early America. I'm incredibly grateful to medievalists like Bloch and Henry Adams for their reimagining of primary sources, narrative, and ways to widen our audience."

Robert John Clines (@TheMedHistorian) agreed, calling Bloch's book *The Historian's Craft* "groundbreaking". However, Clines reserved special mention for another member of the pioneering Annales School of historians, Fernand Braudel. "His work fundamentally shaped the way I think about and do history and grapple with the Mediterranean," he tweeted.

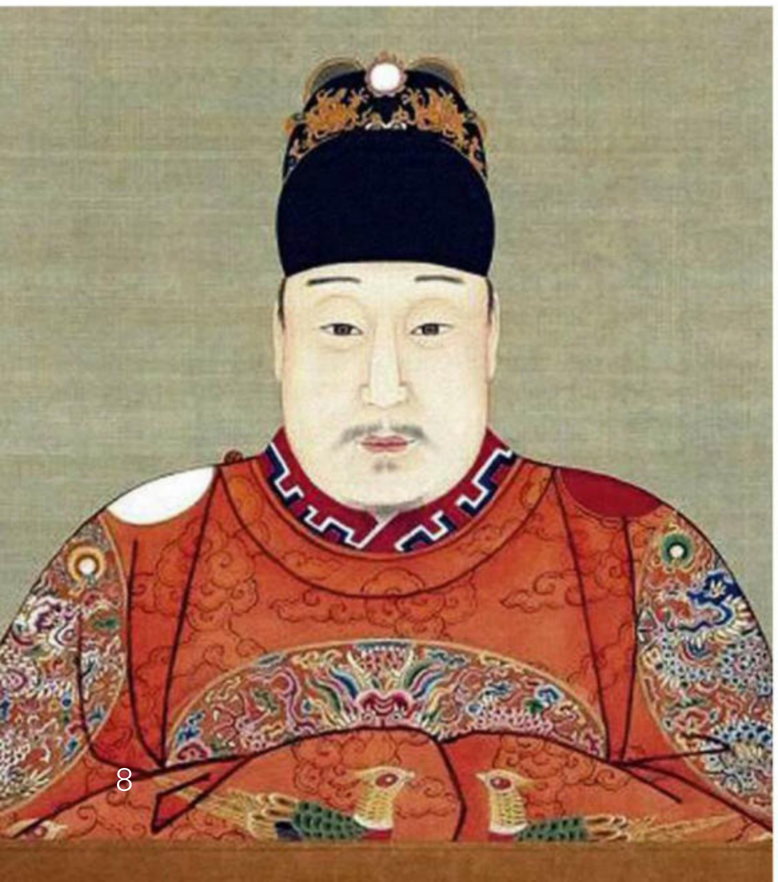
Join the debate at twitter.com/historyextra

Some historians were inspired less by gratitude and admiration, but rather anger and outrage, as **Amanda Madden** (@MaddenAmanda) – now a historian of early modern Italy – explained. "I was so angered by Joan Kelly-Gadol's argument in *Did Women Have a Renaissance?* when I read it as an undergrad that I marched straight to a female prof's office after class and asked her to supervise a thesis on women in the Renaissance because I felt she had to be wrong."

Meanwhile, others wondered how historians of the past actually managed to accomplish their work. "How Lynn Thorndike went around doing what he did without access to modern finding aids is beyond me," wrote **Jo Edge** (@hagenilda). "[He] must have had an incredible memory."

However, my favourite suggestion came from **James Carter** (@jayjamescarter): "Ray Huang. His *1587: A Year of No Significance* was the first book on Chinese history I read and shaped how I think about both China and history overall." Well, that's my next purchase sorted! H

Anna Whitelock is head of history at Royal Holloway, University of London



> It was the first book on Chinese history I read, and shaped how I think about history

The Ming dynasty emperor Wanli (left) played a key role in Ray Huang's hugely influential book *1587: A Year of No Significance*

The forgotten passageway was created for Charles II's coronation in 1660

HOUSES OF PARLIAMENT

Secret passage found in Commons

A 360-year-old passageway used by luminaries including Samuel Pepys, William Pitt the Younger and Robert Walpole has been uncovered inside the House of Commons.

For 70 years, the entrance was concealed behind wooden panelling, and historians believed it had been filled in during repairs to Second World War bomb damage.

But after researching the building's original plans, historian Dr Liz Hallam Smith detected a concealed door in the panelling of a cloister. "We realised there was a tiny brass keyhole that no one had really noticed before, believing it might just be an electricity cupboard," she said. Her team prised open the door to reveal a tiny stone-floored chamber and bricked-up doorway.

The passageway was created in 1660 for the coronation of Charles II, to allow guests to proceed to a banquet next door at Westminster Hall.

It was subsequently used by generations of politicians and notables as the chief Commons entrance, before being sealed inside the walls of the Palace of Westminster and forgotten about, with the cloister since used as Labour party offices and a cloakroom.

And a further surprise was awaiting the excavators in the form of 169-year-old graffiti by the bricklayer who helped close off the passage.

The pencil scrawl dates to 1851, and reads: "This room was enclosed by Tom Porter who was very fond of Ould Ale." The wall is then signed by stonemasons who joined Porter in a toast, and who call themselves "Real Democrats" – meaning they supported the Chartists, a group that campaigned for working-class male suffrage.

"I was awestruck, because it shows that the Palace of Westminster still has so many secrets to give up," said Dr Hallam Smith. H

AKG-IMAGES/UK PARLIAMENT

A GOOD MONTH FOR...

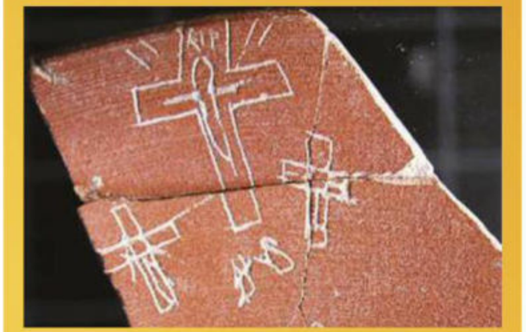
NAVAL HISTORY

The mastermind behind the evacuation of Dunkirk is to be honoured with a new museum. Scottish Borders Council has approved plans for a garden store at the Coldstream home of Admiral Sir Bertram Ramsay (above) to be converted into an attraction exploring his life.

ROMAN VILLAS

The remains of a recently discovered Roman villa have been saved after 6,000 people signed a petition to stop them being damaged by developers. Bovis Homes has agreed to 'replan' its new estate in Cam, Gloucestershire so the remains are not covered by housing.

A BAD MONTH FOR...



ANCIENT GRAFFITI

An archaeologist who claimed to have found the earliest known depictions of Christ's crucifixion is standing trial in Spain accused of forgery. Some experts believe that the ancient 'graffiti' on items discovered by Eliseo Gil are historically inaccurate fakes.

GETTY IMAGES/WAKEFIELD COUNCIL/DURHAM UNIVERSITY-RAH PETHERBRIDGE/REUTERS

HISTORY IN THE NEWS

A selection of the stories hitting the **history headlines**

Vol 5
Journal
of Matthew Tomlinson of
Doghouse Farm. Lupset
From 30 Nov: 1806.
To 25 Oct: 1812.
21 November 2019 –
8 March 2020
Members

Diary sheds light on gay views

A diary entry penned by a farmer in 1810 suggests Georgian Britons may have been more tolerant of homosexuality than previously thought, say historians. Writing about a sodomy trial reported in the press, Matthew Tomlinson argues that it "seems cruel" to punish people for something decided by "nature". The entry was found by student Eamonn O'Keeffe at Wakefield Library.

Rare gaming piece found on Lindisfarne

A piece from a 1,200-year-old board game has been unearthed on the island of Lindisfarne, Northumberland. The blue glass artefact, topped with a white 'crown', was found during a community archaeology dig on the site of the island's monastery, which was raided by the Vikings in AD 793. You can listen to an extended discussion about the discovery on our podcast at *historyextra.com/lindisfarne-podcast*

Prized sculpture located on top of cupboard

A 'lost' 15th-century sculpture has unexpectedly been discovered at a National Trust property in Cambridgeshire. The walnut bust, depicting St Agnes holding a lamb, was found on top of a cupboard at Anglesey Abbey as part of a Trust-wide cataloguing project. Carved by the Dutch sculptor Niclaus Gerhaert von Leyden, the artwork was one of four busts that adorned a church in Wissembourg, France.

BP protest strikes museum

Hundreds of eco-activists took part in a weekend of protests calling for the British Museum to sever its sponsorship ties with oil giant BP. Organised by pressure group BP or Not BP?, the demonstrations on 7–9 February saw protesters occupy the main courtyard with a Trojan Horse – a reference to the BP-sponsored Troy: Myth and Reality exhibition. H

FROM TOP TO BOTTOM:
An 1806–12 diary belonging to Matthew Tomlinson, now in the collections of Wakefield Library, West Yorkshire; the glass gaming piece recently unearthed on Lindisfarne; the 'lost' carving of St Agnes found at Anglesey Abbey; protesters dressed as Trojan warriors outside the British Museum on 8 February

Anatomy of an outbreak

The world watches nervously as SARS-CoV-2 – better known as coronavirus – sweeps out of China, bringing a tidal wave of fear, conjecture and prejudice in its wake. **MARK HONIGSBAUM** looks at the history of pandemics and sees a common pattern

In the autumn of 1924, rumours began emerging from the Mexican quarter of Los Angeles of an outbreak of a horrifying new disease. Symptoms included fever, coughing and severe pneumonia, and when nine Latinos who had attended the funeral of a recent victim died, the authorities quarantined the Mexican quarter.

Officially, health officials blamed the outbreak on a recurrence of a "severe form of Spanish influenza", which had sparked a pandemic just six years earlier. In fact, as early as October, the authorities knew that the problem was plague. Seventeen years before, an outbreak of the rat-borne disease had brought terror to downtown San Francisco, but at a time when Los Angeles was selling itself as a hygienic, sun-kissed retirement destination, the city didn't need scare headlines about the return of the 'Black Death'.

Instead, LA's Chamber of Commerce persuaded the city's newspapers to cover up the truth in a bid to prevent a federal quarantine of the city's harbour. And so began one of the most despicable episodes in ethnic quarantine in modern US history – one that would see nearly 2,500 Latinos trapped in a two-mile-square area of LA while newspapers conspired to keep the bad news at bay.

Los Angeles in 1924 is not Wuhan in 2020, and plague is a very different pathogen to SARS-CoV-2, the official name for the novel coronavirus that emerged in the Chinese city in Hubei in the final months of 2019.

But at a time when 11 million people in Wuhan are confined to their homes and the cruise ship *Diamond Princess* lies stranded in Yokohama after hundreds of passengers tested positive for the coronavirus, it is hard not to conclude that little has changed. Xu Zhangrun, a prominent critic of the Chinese Communist party and its leader, Xi Jinping, wrote in an essay shortly after the quarantine measures came in: "As word spread about the blockades… it felt as though we were being confronted by a kind of barbaric panic more readily associated with the Middle Ages."

Although the quarantine measures in Wuhan and other Chinese cities dwarf those taken in LA in 1924, the aims are the same: to prevent the contagion from spreading and keep the wheels of commerce turning. But, given that 5 million people left Wuhan in the three weeks between the first cases and the imposition of the quarantine on 23 January, and that western airlines and international companies have suspended trading in China for the duration of the epidemic, both aims look to be in jeopardy.

> The 14th-century Black Death prompted libels against Jews, while the 1980s Aids crisis was blamed on the sexual appetites of gay men

Plague reservoir Ground squirrel hunters pose with their haul. Experts believe the creatures helped cause LA's 1924 plague outbreak

A.I.D.S.: WE NEED
RESEARCH,
NOT HYSTERIA!

Pride and prejudice Gay pride marchers in New York, 1983. When Aids first made headlines, it was widely dubbed 'the gay plague'

BANCROFT LIBRARY/GETTY IMAGES

The return of 'yellow peril'

Perhaps the biggest parallel, however, is the fear COVID-19 (as the illness sparked by the virus is known) has ignited. In Wuhan, residents rushed to stock up on face masks, though many experts question their effectiveness. Hong Kong has also seen panic-buying, while reports linking the outbreak to snakes and other wild animals sold at a seafood market in Wuhan have stoked racist tropes about the 'yellow peril' and the dangers of 'exotic' Chinese foods. Meanwhile, the Italian government's decision to quaran-

Panic stations
Citizens in Guangzhou, China wear face masks to protect themselves against the coronavirus outbreak in January – though many experts question their utility outside clinical settings

tine 11 towns in Lombardy, as hundreds tested positive for the virus, has seen a run on pasta and fresh vegetables.

The prejudice is nothing new. In 1889, British medical experts blamed the 'Russian influenza' pandemic (so called because the first outbreak was observed in St Petersburg) on the flooding of the Yangtze river the previous year and the thousands of Chinese victims whose bodies had been left to rot in the sun. In fact, the pandemic almost certainly originated in Bukhara, a tsarist-controlled Muslim trading post lying on the Silk Road in present-day Uzbekistan.

The 14th-century Black Death prompted similar libels against Jews, who were accused of poisoning the wells used by Christians (by contrast, in Muslim countries, Jews were rarely singled out for blame). In the 1980s, the Aids crisis saw the slur that the spread of HIV, a blood-borne viral infection, was due to the sexual appetites of homosexual men – hence the epithet 'the gay plague', used by many US news anchors. Conversely in Africa, where Aids was seen as a disease that affected both men and women regardless of their sexual orientations, President Mbeki of South Africa denied the connection between HIV and Aids, while others claimed the virus had been released from a US biowarfare facility in a deliberate effort to "kill blacks".

The Ebola epidemic that swept west Africa in 2014–16 saw similar conspiracy theories about biowarfare experimentation, while back in 1918 several US newspapers blamed the Spanish flu on German U-boats in the north Atlantic (in fact, the pandemic originated in neither Spain nor Germany, but was probably incubated in US Army camps in the southern United States, from where it was introduced to northern Europe via American troop transports).

Chinese researchers recently suggested that COVID-19 may have originated in a laboratory close to the Wuhan seafood market where scientists were studying bats known to harbour wild coronaviruses. The evidence was entirely circumstantial and dismissed by other experts who, based on genetic analysis of COVID-19 and related bat viruses, concluded it was almost certainly the result of natural selection in an animal or human host. But by then the conspiracy theory was already halfway round the world.

In 1924, the quarantining of the Mexican quarter sparked similar rumours and theories about the 'squalid' living conditions and 'dirty habits' of Latinos, but though the LA papers refused to use the P-word, east coast newspapers were not so reticent, with both *The Washington Post* and *The New York Times* declaring the city was in the grip of an outbreak of "pneumonic plague". As a result, federal authorities rushed plague serum to the hospital at the centre of the outbreak (the rudimentary serum probably made little difference, but the symbolism was immense).

In all, 40 people would die in the two-week outbreak, nearly all of them Latinos, and after the quarantine was lifted, extermination squads were sent into the Mexican quarter to blitz rooms and basements where plague-carrying rats had set up home. In fact, it is now thought, the plague bacillus had been introduced to the Mexican quarter by Californian ground squirrels who, following the introduction of plague to San Francisco in 1900, had become an important domestic reservoir of the disease.

It is too early to say what animal may be responsible for the COVID-19 outbreak – candidates include bats, snakes and civet cats. But with more than 75,000 cases and 2,000 deaths in China (as we went to press), and introductions reported in 27 countries, the epidemic has already surpassed the 2003 SARS outbreak, which was also due to a coronavirus, and there are fears that travellers who left Wuhan before the lockdown may yet spark a true global pandemic. Hopefully, that won't happen, but the key historical lesson is that transparency is the best policy, and it is far better to lock the stable door before the horse has bolted. H

Mark Honigsbaum is a medical historian and author of *The Pandemic Century: One Hundred Years of Panic, Hysteria and Hubris* (Hurst, 2019)

GETTY IMAGES

The ISLANDS of
GUERNSEY

DIVE INTO OUR HISTORY

On 9 May 2020, we celebrate 75 years since the Islands' Liberation at the end of World War II. To commemorate, 75 unique heritage-themed events are taking place between April and October. So, while it is always a good year to visit the Islands, this one will be a particularly special one.

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1945 75 2020
YEARS
OF LIBERATION

MICHAEL WOOD ON...
THE LATEST RESEARCH INTO TROY

"Historical finds are spurring us on to the truth about the Trojan War"

I recently went up to the wet and windy Lancashire coast, with trains disrupted by floods beyond Preston, to talk to the wonderful Lytham St Annes Classical Association. It's the biggest branch of the Classical Association in the UK, with almost 600 members, 400 of whom were crammed into a school hall on a cold night. There they shared their enthusiasm for the archaeology of Troy; the prehistory of Homer's *Iliad*; and the complex but mesmerising detail of the Hittite diplomatic archive, where we actually have correspondence between the Hittites and the Greeks at the time of the Trojan War – including one letter from the king of Achaeans, the real-life Agamemnon!

The classics are a lifetime's source of pleasure and illumination. They matter, too, because – especially as Brexit unfolds – we need to understand clearly that so many of the roots of our own culture lie in Italy and in Greece. And the study of Greek and Roman civilisation is not the possession of southern upper middle-class types with a public school and Oxbridge education – although when our Etonian prime minister recites the opening lines of *The Iliad*, you might easily get that impression! No, the classics are a fabulous source of inspiration for all: "The gateway to paradise," as Heinrich Schliemann, the excavator of Troy, put it.

My own love of the classics began with stories at home and books from the travelling library that came each Tuesday night to our part of Manchester. Remember Roger Lancelyn Green's *Tales of the Greek Heroes* and *The Tale of Troy*? Then came the magical books of Leonard Cottrell, whose *The Bull of Minos* turned the search for the Greek Bronze Age into a thriller – and I am sure influenced my filmmaking style years later, when my own searches for the classical past mixed history, travel and adventure. Later, in my late teens, I went hitching with a rucksack, sleeping out on thyme-scented Greek mountainsides. It was the start of a lifelong love affair.

The classics as a subject are incredibly dynamic and always changing. Take the tale of Troy, my theme at Lytham. The British Museum has just held a Troy exhibition, full of great works of art, from the Greeks to the Pre-Raphaelites. There's even a hilarious feminist *Judgement of Paris*, with Athene as Lara Croft and Hera holding a Hoover. But although it is subtitled *Myth and Reality*, the show disappointingly concluded that the Homeric myth cannot be squared with history and archaeology.

Now, that was the general view back in the 1980s when we made our series of films about Troy for the BBC, *In Search of the Trojan War*. But these helped reopen the debate on the historicity of the war, and helped spur the latest excavation of the site. In turn, the latest finds have really moved the story on.

There are three major areas of new discovery. First is the site itself, where the find of a lower town makes Troy look much more like a regional capital. The outer defences, with gates and anti-chariot ditches, enclosed an area that could have sheltered maybe 6,000 people, which tallies with the Troy of legend.

Second is *The Iliad*. The work of Homer is undergoing a radical reappraisal as more is understood about the influence of near-eastern poetry on his themes, tales and characters. These were passed on by travelling bards who performed at courts and religious festivals, reworking tales such as *Gilgamesh*, which had come down through Akkadian, Hurrian and Hittite traditions. Homer's debt to the great corpus of stories from the near east and from Mesopotamia is now clear.

Thirdly, new finds in the Hittite archives have refined ideas about Bronze Age Anatolian geography, and may point to one influence on the tale – among several possible Trojan wars – in conflicts fought at the time of Muwatallis (reigned c1320–1294 BC), the Hittite king who clashed with Pharaoh Ramses II at Kadesh in Syria. All this could hardly have been guessed at 30 years ago.

The fascination of it all reminds us that classical civilisation is an integral part of western culture and helped make us who we are. Indeed, without its myths and histories we can hardly understand our own literature – think of Shakespeare, for starters. Sharing all this with the members of the Lytham Classical Association not only reinforced my sense of the value and joy in the classics, but also sent me away thinking about putting the Hittite version of the Trojan War to paper sooner rather than later. Watch this space! H

Michael Wood is professor of public history at the University of Manchester. He has presented numerous BBC series, and his books include *In Search of the Trojan War* (BBC, 2005)

ILLUSTRATION BY **FEMKE DE JONG**

ANNIVERSARIES

DOMINIC SANDBROOK highlights events that took place in April in history

12 APRIL 1606

Britain is united under one flag

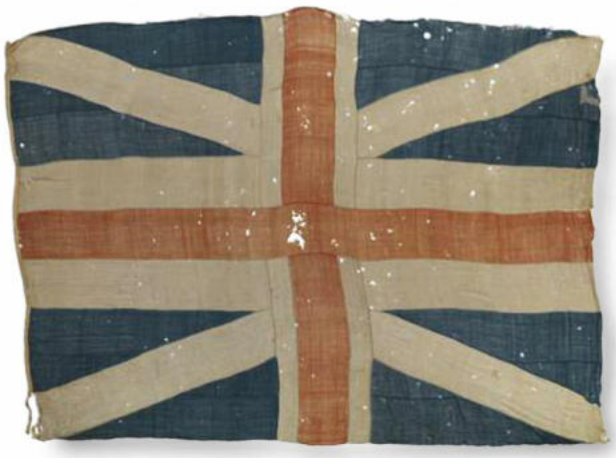
Confusion at sea is settled with the creation of the Union Jack

Three years after James VI of Scotland headed south to take the English throne, the king and his advisers contemplated a question that would have enormously long-lasting consequences. Although the two kingdoms remained separate jurisdictions, should their ships fly the same flag?

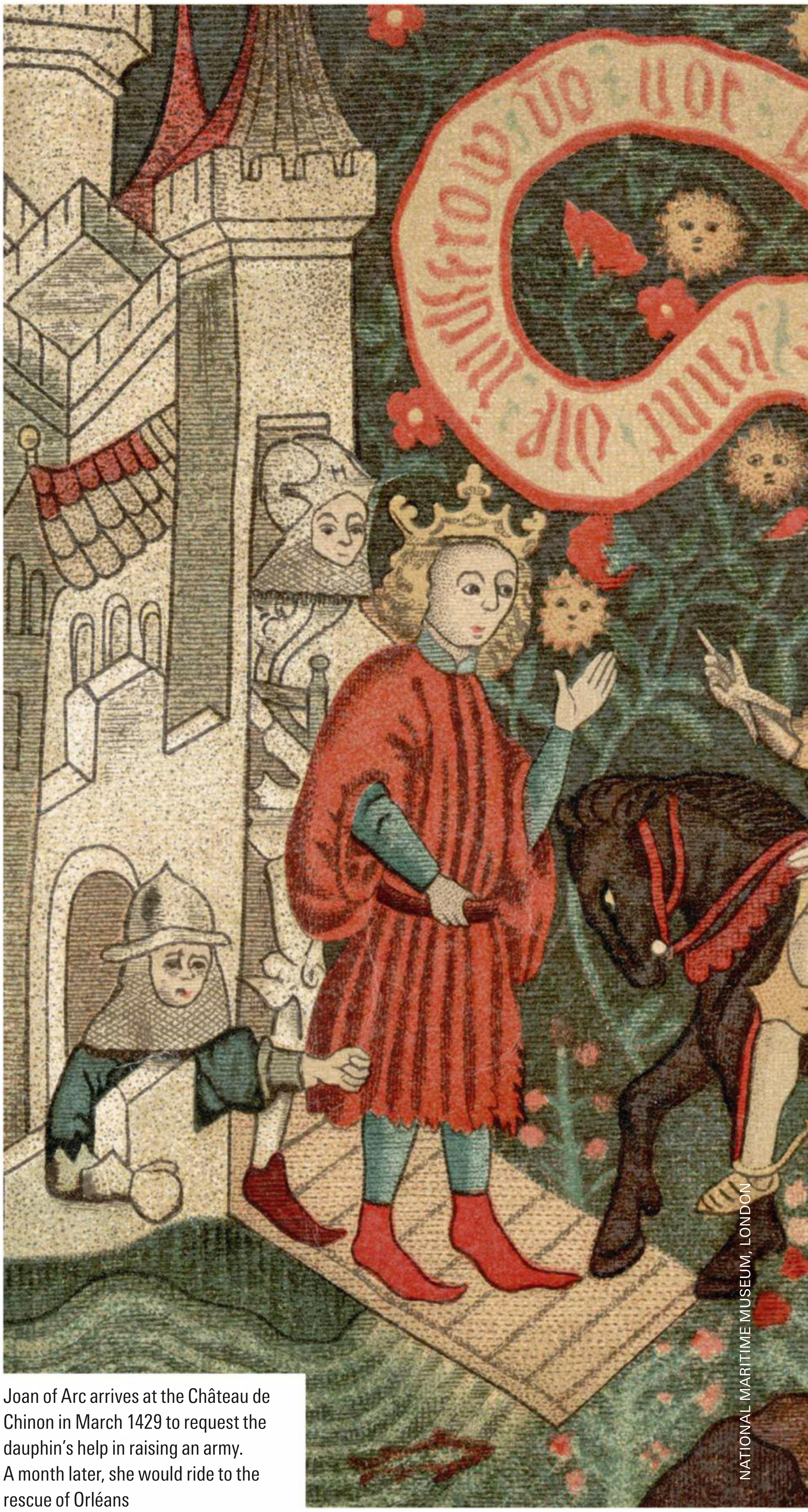
The issue might seem academic, but after reports of altercations between English and Scottish ships, the king was keen to find a symbol of harmony. For months his courtiers discussed various designs, and at last, in the spring of 1606, they came up with a winner.

On 12 April, then, James issued a proclamation, "declaring what Flags South and North Britons shall bear at Sea". It was evident, he said, that "some difference has arisen between our Subjects of South and North Britain, Travelling by Sea, about the bearing of their flags". So "henceforth all our subjects of this Isle and Kingdom of Great Britain" should fly from the maintop "the Red Cross, commonly called St George's Cross, and the White Cross, commonly called St Andrew's Cross, joined together".

The exact original design is now lost, but it was probably very similar to the flag generally flown before 1801, when it was adapted to include the cross of St Patrick. And to settle a hoary old question: was it the union flag, or the union jack? The answer is simple. For the first few years, at least, nobody called it either.

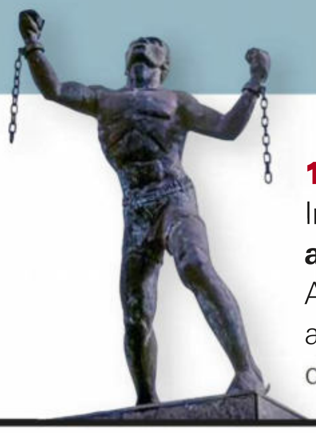


A union flag flown on HMS *Queen Charlotte* at the battle known as the Glorious First of June, 1794



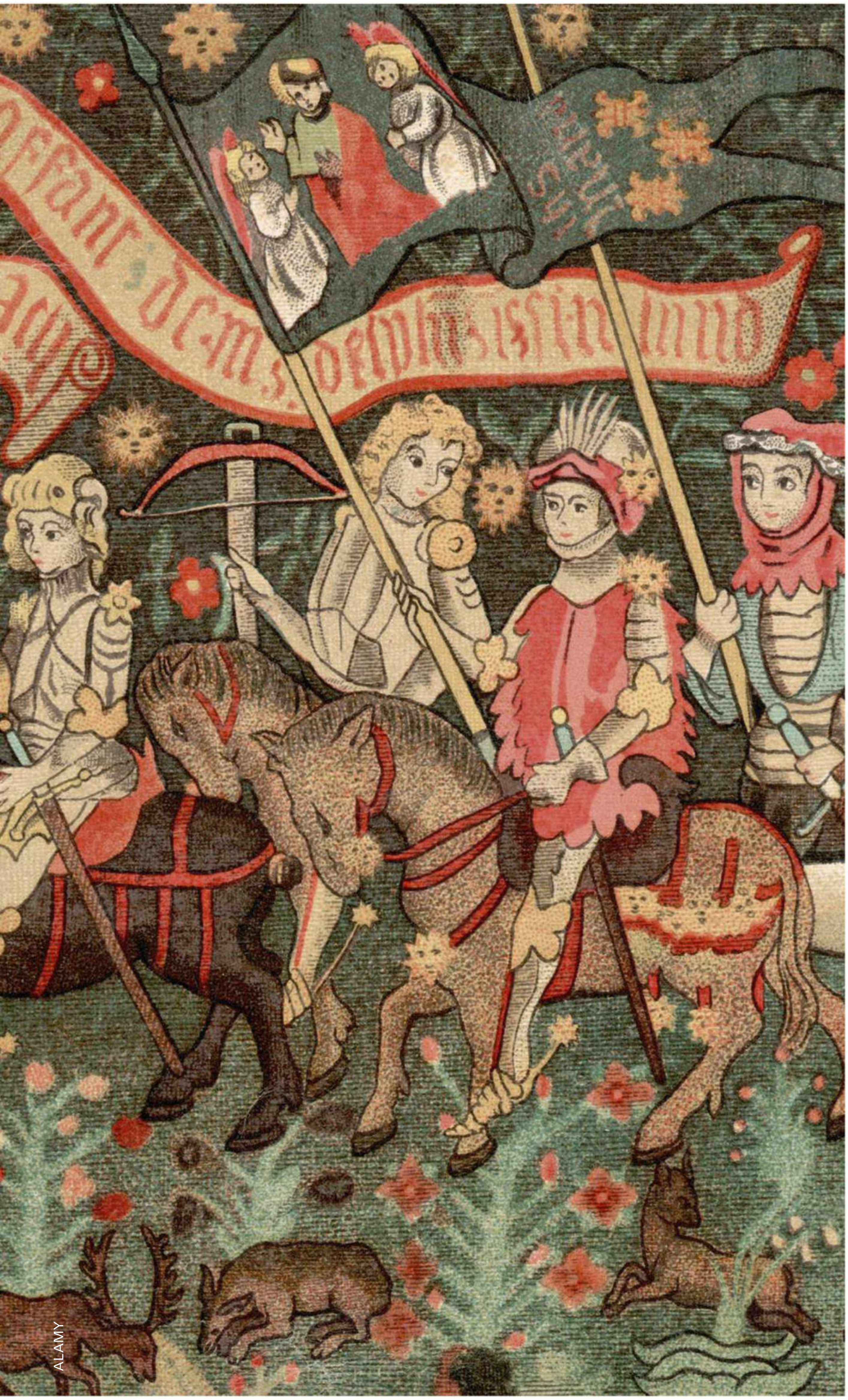
Joan of Arc arrives at the Château de Chinon in March 1429 to request the dauphin's help in raising an army. A month later, she would ride to the rescue of Orléans

NATIONAL MARITIME MUSEUM, LONDON



14 APRIL 1816

In Barbados, a slave, Bussa, leads **a revolt against the island's British governors**. After just two days, he and 400 of his followers are cornered by the colonial militia, who kill dozens of them, including Bussa himself.



ALAMY

29 APRIL 1429

Joan of Arc enters Orléans

A peasant girl takes on the might of the English army

Orléans, April 1429: a city under siege, exhausted after months of pressure. The Hundred Years' War was in full swing, the English were in the ascendancy, and France seemed almost past hope.

The English army had arrived outside Orléans the previous autumn, and the siege had dragged on through the winter. The city's defenders offered to turn it over to England's ally Burgundy, but the English commanders said no. They wanted the city for themselves, and were confident that its fall was only weeks away. And although they had heard rumours of a legendary armoured maiden riding to its rescue, those were just peasants' folk tales – weren't they?

And then the miracle happened. The English commanders had received a bizarre message from a teenage girl, calling herself "the Maiden", ordering them to "be gone, in the name of God, or I will make you go". And on 28 April, rumours spread through the English camp that the girl had appeared, leading a relief convoy from the south, and that supplies were even now being shipped to the city.

At eight the following evening, Joan of Arc entered Orléans in triumph. "She entered fully armed, mounted on a white horse," wrote one chronicler, "and before her was borne her standard, which was likewise white, and which had two angels holding each a lily flower in her hand; and on the pennon was painted the Annunciation." To the townsfolk, who had gathered with torches to greet their saviour, it seemed a blessing from heaven. "They felt wholly comforted, and as if freed from siege by the divine virtue which they had been told was in the simple Maid, whom they regarded most affectionately; men, women, and little children," continued the chronicler.

A week later, Joan led her troops in a bloody rout of the English attackers, holding her banner aloft even after being wounded by an arrow. At that moment, her reputation as a national heroine was assured.

10 APRIL 491

After the death of Eastern Roman **emperor Zeno** on 9 April, crowds swarm Constantinople chanting for a successor with more orthodox beliefs. A few days later, Zeno's widow chooses administrator **Anastasius** (right) as her husband and new emperor.

29 APRIL 1944

British **special agent Nancy Wake** parachutes into the Auvergne to act as a go-between with the Resistance. Finding her tangled in a tree, a local man hopes "all the trees in France bear such beautiful fruit this year". "Don't give me that French shit," replies Wake.

Cuban militiamen head to their defensive positions on 17 April 1961. They would humiliate Washington by easily repelling the US-backed invasion force

17 APRIL 1961

Bay of Pigs fiasco fails to oust Castro

CIA attempt to spark popular revolt in Cuba ends in disaster

It was in the small hours that Gregorio Moreira realised something was happening. High in the darkness above the Cuban coastline, he saw a flare, "like a candle in the sky". So Moreira, a fisherman, called his brothers, and they grabbed their rifles and scurried down to the beach. Then they waited. At last, at about four in the morning, they saw shapes moving ahead of them. Then they started shooting.

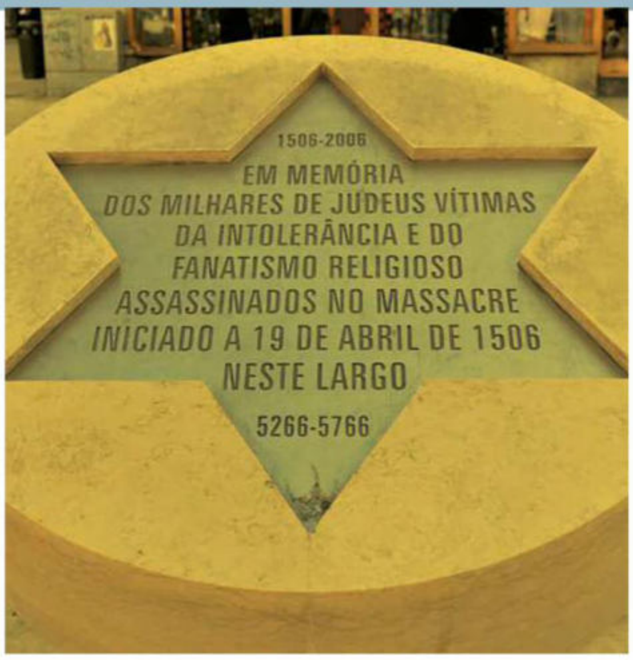
The Bay of Pigs invasion, in which some 1,400 exiles landed on the island of Cuba in an attempt to overthrow Fidel Castro, had been long in the making. The plan had been hatched by the CIA, who were convinced that with just a little nudge, the Cuban people would rise up to overthrow their communist masters. In the spring of 1960, President Eisenhower gave his blessing, and the CIA began training Cuban exiles on the beaches of Guatemala.

Eisenhower's successor as president, John F Kennedy, was not entirely sure about the plan. But he had promised to wage the Cold War with greater vigour, so it seemed a perfect fit. In February 1961, Kennedy gave the formal go-ahead. And shortly after midnight on Monday 17 April, at Playa Girón on the Bay of Pigs, the operation began.

Unfortunately for the exiles, the whole thing was a disaster from start to finish. Rumours of the invasion had already spread to the island from Miami, and the Cuban militia were quickly on the scene. Within hours the invaders had come under heavy fire, two of their ships had been sunk and the sky was thick with fighter planes. Far from storming inland to a huge popular welcome, the exiles were bogged down on the beaches. As Castro's troops raced to the scene, where was the promised US support?

Within two days it was all over. The Americans managed to rescue a handful of the exiles by sea, but the rest were killed or captured. Kennedy had been humiliated. And Castro? He stayed in power for the next 47 years.

ALAMY/AKG-IMAGES/BRIDGEMAN



A monument to those killed in Lisbon, when mobs roamed the streets for three brutal days

19 APRIL 1506

Church row sparks Lisbon pogrom

Around 2,000 Jews massacred after dispute over holy vision

In spring 1506, Lisbon was not a happy place. After a long drought and a severe bout of plague, the Portuguese capital was in a febrile mood. And when an argument broke out at the convent of São Domingos de Lisboa, things quickly turned ugly.

The trigger came when, during a Sunday service, one worshipper declared he had seen the face of Jesus shining from the altar. Another man said that was rubbish: he had merely seen candlelight reflecting from the crucifix.

This second man was a New Christian – one of thousands of Jews who had fled west and converted to Catholicism after being expelled from Spain. Anti-Semitic resentment was already running high in Lisbon. And with the second man's remarks, the dam broke.

A screaming crowd dragged him outside by the hair, beat him to death and set his body on fire. Then someone said they should round up and kill the other heretics too.

So began one of the worst pogroms in Portuguese history, as mobs roamed in search of Jews. "They burnt them in the streets of the city for three days on end," wrote one observer, "till the bodies were consumed and became ashes." Babies were dashed against the wall.

It was not until Tuesday that the king's troops managed to restore order. By then, some 2,000 people had been massacred. The chief perpetrators were hanged, but the damage had already been done. **H**

Dominic Sandbrook is a historian. His latest book is *Who Dares Wins: Britain, 1979–1982* (Allen Lane, 2019)

ALAMY

James Cook lands in Botany Bay – watched by the wary locals

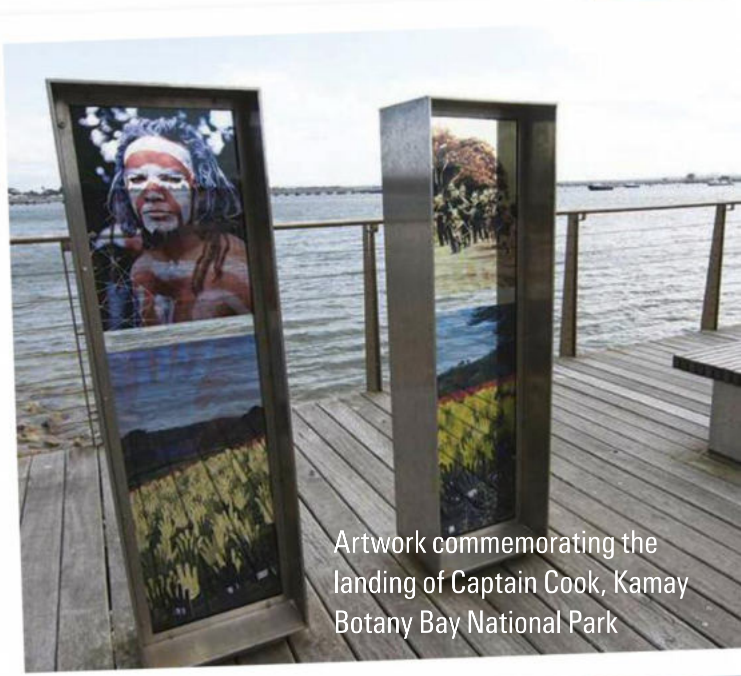
BY **DIANA PRESTON**

Two hundred and fifty years ago, on Thursday 19 April 1770, James Cook – perhaps Britain's greatest navigator – sighted the south-east coast of Australia while commanding HMS *Endeavour*. It was "rather low, and not very hilly, the face of the country green and woody". On 29 April, he anchored in a "capacious, safe and commodious bay", watched by Aboriginal men, women and children of the Gweagal clan. Hoping to make contact with them, he decided to go ashore, but as the ships' boats approached through the surf, all vanished except for two men "who seem'd resolved to oppose our landing". To placate them, Cook threw beads and nails. When that failed, he fired a few musket shots to frighten them off, and finally stepped onto the wet sand. However, over subsequent days his repeated attempts to make contact with the Aboriginal people failed. "All they seem'd to want was for us to be gone," he wrote.

Cook's landing in Botany Bay – so named by Cook for "the great quantity of plants" collected there by Joseph Banks, the naturalist accompanying him – was pivotal to the history of Australia, even if his men were not the first Britons to reach the mainland. In January 1688, a band of buccaneers had landed on Australia's north-western shore, among them William Dampier, later sent back by the Admiralty in command of HMS *Roebuck* to take another look. Dampier again explored the western coast, but so unpromising were his reports of a barren land that no British expedition returned until Cook.

> **"** Cook noted the negative impact on indigenous peoples of European contact **"**

Even then, no further European expedition visited Australia for 18 more years. Cook was dead before, on the advice of Banks – now president of the Royal Society – the British authorities despatched the 'First Fleet' to transport convicts who, following the loss of the American colonies, needed to be deposited somewhere else. When Botany Bay proved too exposed, the first permanent settlement was established eight miles north in a bay Cook had named Port Jackson – today's Sydney.


Artwork commemorating the landing of Captain Cook, Kamay Botany Bay National Park

The settlement survived early hardships, thrived and expanded. Not so the Aboriginal people, whose complex relationship with the land – which had been shaped and managed by them, with thousands of years of planned burning – the new arrivals never understood. The settlers' casual seizure of their lands brought conflict, while European diseases like smallpox caused thousands of deaths. Cook himself never returned to Australia, but when revisiting other places, he noted the negative impact on indigenous peoples of European contact. He would surely have regretted some legacies of that first landing in Botany Bay, even if applauding the vigorous new nation that took root there. **H**

Diana Preston is a historian, writer and broadcaster. Her books include *Paradise in Chains: The Bounty Mutiny and the Founding of Australia* (Bloomsbury, 2018)

HIDDEN HISTORIES

DAVID OLUSOGA explores lesser-known stories from our past

"In 1916, brothers who had fought on opposing sides were reunited"

Even now, a century after the conflict ended, the role that soldiers from the Indian subcontinent played in the First World War remains largely forgotten.

This was underlined recently when actor Laurence Fox referred clumsily to the "oddness of the casting" when director Sam Mendes showed a Sikh soldier in *1917*. Search more carefully though, and you'll find many overlooked stories, including that of Mir Dast and Mir Mast, brothers from the Tirah province of what is now Pakistan. Sunni Muslims of the Afridi tribe from near the Afghan border, the brothers were not technically empire subjects, yet both joined the British Indian Army.

In 1914, Mir Dast was dispatched to the western front and the 57th Rifles. In April 1915, he fought in the second battle of Ypres, where Germany unleashed a new terror weapon: chlorine gas. After surviving the initial attack and leading a counter-attack, Mir Dast later ventured back into no man's land and rescued eight wounded officers, both British and Indian. Wounded himself, he was evacuated to Britain and a military hospital established for Indian troops at Brighton Pavilion. There, in August 1915, King George V awarded him the Victoria Cross.

The war record of his brother, Mir Mast, was also characterised by acts of heroism and a willingness to take risks – yet that is where comparisons end. His regiment arrived in France in October 1914. By March 1915, he was at the front as part of the force preparing for the battle of Neuve Chapelle, the first British offensive on the western front. But days before the attack, he led 20 Indian troops into no man's land and over the German lines, where they surrendered. Yet Mir Mast did not simply desert: he went on to play an active and dramatic role in Germany's war effort, joining a German-Turkish mission to Afghanistan. This took him on an epic five-month journey overland to Kabul, where he made attempts to persuade the Emir of Afghanistan to reject British influence and invade British India. For his service to Germany, Mir Mast was awarded two medals, the Orders of the Crown and the Red Eagle.

In November 1915, the elder brother, Mir Dast, had arrived in Bombay with his Victoria Cross and received a hero's welcome, but suffering from the effects of chlorine gas he returned to Tirah to convalesce, doing so in the house of his brother. When Germany's efforts to persuade the Emir to rise up against Britain failed, Mir Mast also made the journey back to Tirah. In July 1916, the two brothers who had fought on opposing sides were reunited.

Mir Mast was not only unrepentant about having deserted on the western front, but he attempted to recruit other Afridi men to join Germany and Turkey in the fight against the British. This caused such consternation among the elders that they burned down Mir Mast's house. Mir Dast returned to his regiment and lived until 1945, though he never fully recovered from his gassing. Mir Mast died in 1919 of the Spanish flu.

In 2011, this remarkable family once again made the headlines when Mir Dast's grandson, Dr Shakil Afridi, was arrested in Pakistan. He had allegedly helped the CIA to establish a fake vaccination programme in the city of Abbottabad. It was this programme that eventually led US forces to locate the secret facility in which Osama bin Laden was hiding. For allegedly working with the Americans, Afridi was convicted of treason and sentenced to 33 years in prison. In 2012, bills were introduced into the US House of Representatives calling for Afridi to receive the US Congressional Gold Medal. If it were ever awarded, the family could add it to the Victoria Cross and Order of the Red Eagle given to Mir Dast and Mir Mast. H

David Olusoga is professor of public history at the University of Manchester, and the presenter of several BBC documentaries

BBC

Royal visit

Mir Dast (foreground, left) stands to attention as King George V (facing away) inspects troops from the Indian subcontinent at Brighton Pavilion

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LETTERS

5c
EDMUND BARTON
Australia

A stamp from 1969 honours the Australian Federation's first prime minister, Edmund Barton. A cricket enthusiast, he helped umpire a notorious match in 1879

LETTER OF THE MONTH

Policing the pickets

I'm a retired officer who served with the Metropolitan Police. I read with interest the article "*We are the Lions, Mr Manager!*" (February) as I was on duty at Grunwick Film Processing Laboratories.

Those who policed the Grunwick strike were drawn from police stations throughout the Metropolitan Police Service. To police the demonstrations at Grunwick, we paraded at 3am. Breakfast consisted of an urn of tea and pork pies brought to our coaches. I don't remember any actual fighting and, apart from someone shouting in my face who had weapons-grade halitosis, it was largely peaceful. This later changed and there were injuries.

I was also on duty at the miners' strike. We were sent up north for six days at a time and slept in aircraft hangers. We had breakfast at 3am before an hour's drive to the mines. It was not easy and became much more difficult after a few months when we became more familiar with individuals. They were between a rock and a hard place. Their communities were very tight, and memories of whose grandfather had been a scab were passed from generation to generation.

We all lost: Margaret Thatcher (eventually) lost her premiership; Arthur Scargill lost the National Union of Mineworkers its power; the miners lost their savings, homes and communities; and the police service lost the affection of the public.

Anthony Moore, Norfolk

HITLER
DOWNFALL 1939–45
VOLKER ULLRICH

We reward the *Letter of the Month* writer with a copy of a new history book. This issue, that is **Hitler: Downfall 1939–1945** by Volker Ullrich. You can read our review of the book on page 74

BUY A
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DOWN WITH THE BOSSES' FREEDOM TO OPPRESS
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T ANY MORE

Policemen stand behind pickets outside the Grunwick Film Processing Laboratories, scene of an industrial dispute in the late 1970s

Gentlemen behaving badly

Here are a couple of interesting asides on the carnage at the cricket match between an English team and the New South Wales side in 1879 that was reported in February's *Anniversaries*. The umpire who gave the NSW batsman the "dodgy" decision was from the colony of Victoria, and had been hired by the English team. This exacerbated the situation – there being traditionally not much love lost between the two colonies. The other umpire who corroborated the decision was Mr (later on Sir) Edmund Barton, who went on to become the first prime minister of the Australian Federation in 1901.

Minoo Mehta, Queensland, Australia

Sticking up for schools

Lucy Worsley's article about the Spanish Armada (February), which set out to debunk a number of myths, was thought-provoking but hardly new. Rather than forgetting what I was taught at school in Devon, I remember well that my history teacher offered up a remarkably similar account of differing interpretations, problematic evidence and the changing nature of what is thought historically significant.

In short, it was very likely the same type of school history that has been taught for at least a generation in English schools – teaching that engages with the interpretative nature of history and with historical thinking. Hollywood films and ad campaigns have nearly always treated historical evidence lightly, but this is where school history can play such a positive role in ensuring that young people are not so easily taken in.

Martyn Davison, Head of History and Classical Studies, Pakuranga College, Auckland, New Zealand

Diplomatic triumph

As an American who lived under Jimmy Carter's administration, I understand much of why Dominic Sandbrook has a low opinion of his presidency (*Letters*, February).

However, we must not overlook the achievement of the Camp David Accords, and the near-impossible feat that Carter pulled off in just getting two implacable enemies such as Anwar Sadat of Egypt and Menachem Begin of Israel to engage with each other at all.

Anwar Sadat, Jimmy Carter and Menachem Begin join hands to celebrate the Camp David Accords, 1978

This historic accord, however imperfect, set the precedent of showing that diplomacy can work between Arab states and Israel. It still stands today, maintaining decades of peace between Israel and Egypt, despite ultimately costing the life of Sadat. Without this event neither the Oslo Accords nor the Israeli-Jordanian peace treaty would likely have occurred.

In the "bottomless pit" of the Carter presidency shine three incredible lights, Nobel Peace Prizes: Sadat and Begin (shared) in 1978 and Jimmy Carter himself in 2002.

Jared Leavitt, Hove

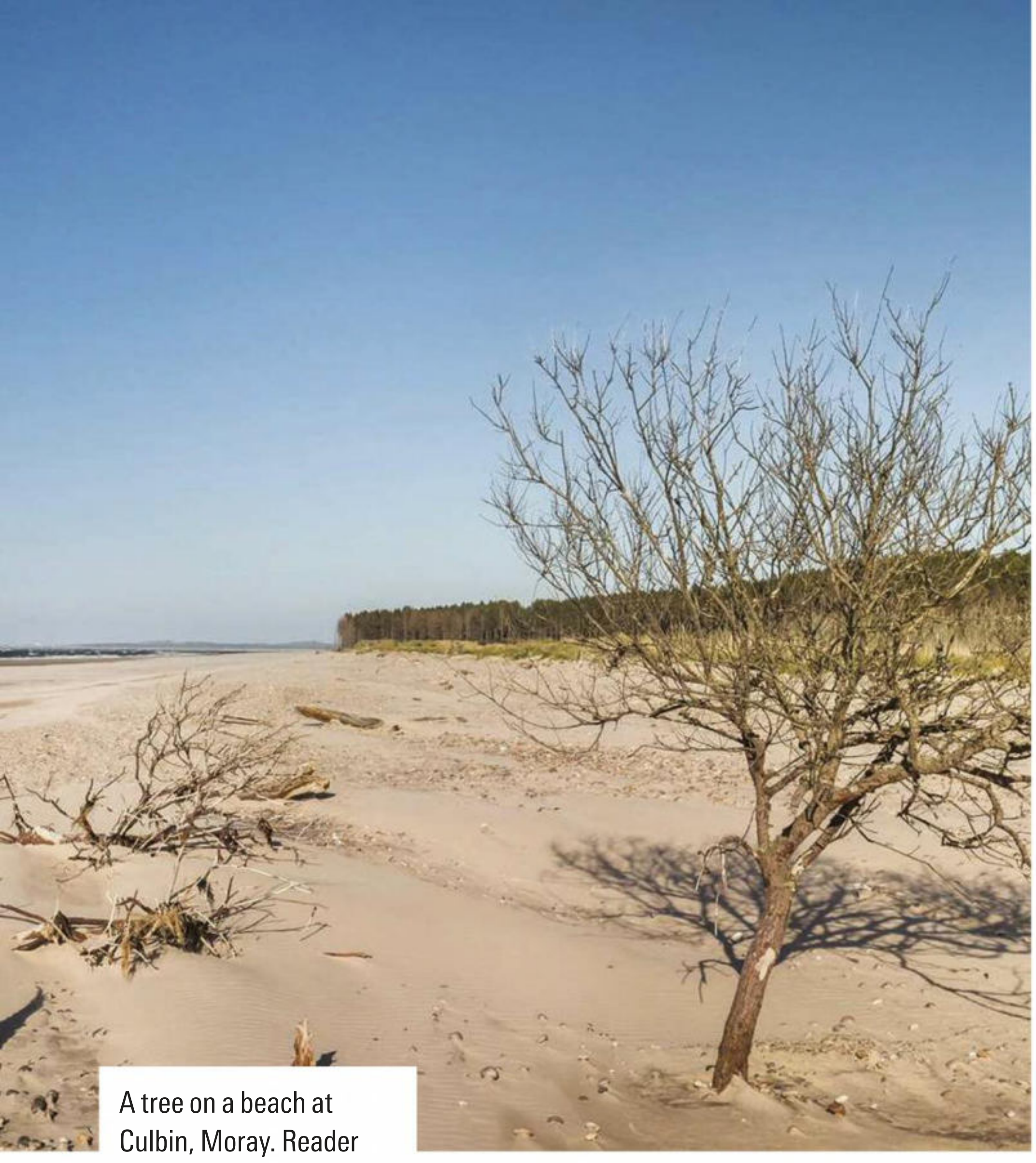
Land mismanagement

Brian Fagan's article on the Little Ice Age (*Frozen*, February) covers the burying of the Culbin Estate in Morayshire at the end of the 17th century. It repeats the traditional story that a single big storm overwhelmed a thriving agricultural community. The research of Sinclair Ross and others has challenged this view.

The estate was unlikely to have been thriving, since the Little Ice Age triggered multiple crop failures in Scotland in the 1690s. Some 20 per cent of the population died in the resulting famines. An important man-made cause of the drifting sand was the widespread use of turf for building and thatching, eroding the vegetation cover that held the sand in place. The year after the big storm, Alexander Kinnaird of Culbin petitioned the Scottish parliament for tax relief because of the deterioration of his land "within these 20 years" and the ongoing erosion, "the sand daily gaining ground". This led to the 1695 Soil Preservation Act, an early example of environmental legislation.

So, a combination of short-sighted building practices and general agricultural failure meant drifting sand was a recurrent problem, and the resources were not in place

ALAMY/GETTY IMAGES



A tree on a beach at Culbin, Moray. Reader Andrew Sutherland suggests the sandy inundation of the Culbin estate may have been down to land-management practices

to resist it by replanting the dunes. The storm of 1694 had a huge impact, but the abandonment of the land was a more gradual process than the traditional story suggests. The sands of Culbin were not stabilised until the Forestry Commission planted a thriving coastal forest there in the 20th century.
Andrew Sutherland, Berkshire

Change for change's sake?

I am writing in response to *How Dark Were the Dark Ages?* (March). I don't see why we need to change the terms used to describe the past at all. The period from the Roman withdrawal to AD 600 or 700 was an age that we know little about. Ergo, we are in 'the dark'. So Dark Ages sums up the period very well until evidence of this time is found and then we will be 'enlightened', and a more suitable label will be chosen.

As for this argument about Anglo-Saxons, you cannot look at any period of history from today's point of view. That is just headache forming. No doubt Alfred the Great would find our world terrifying and horrific in comparison to his own. If we start apologising for what has gone before, where will it end? Wouldn't it be better to learn from the past and not repeat it?
Rose Norton, Bedfordshire

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ALAMY

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Vol 21 No 4 April 2020
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An image of Earth taken from Apollo 13 in April 1970. Astronauts Jim Lovell, Fred Haise and Jack Swigert had been tasked with investigating the Fra Mauro crater in the Lunar Highlands. But, once an explosion had rocked their service module, their sole aim was to make it back to Earth

“Houston, we’ve had a problem”

Fifty years ago, an exploding oxygen tank pitched Apollo 13 – Nasa’s third planned lunar landing – into a scramble for survival. **Thomas Ellis** charts the frantic efforts to bring the crew home as the world looked on

Complements
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13 Minutes to the Moon
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"Chris, you better get out here quick; I think we've had it!" It was the evening of Monday 13 April 1970 and Flight Director Gene Kranz was on the phone to his predecessor Chris Kraft who had been promoted to director of Flight Operations. What was happening with the Apollo 13's *Odyssey* command module was unclear. While the Apollo 13 crew – Commander Jim Lovell, Lunar Module Pilot Fred Haise and Command Module Pilot Jack Swigert – relayed readings and warning light indications in eerily restrained level tones, the atmosphere at Houston's Manned Spacecraft Center's Mission Control was one of incredulity. The systems receiving data from the moon-bound spacecraft were reporting a bewildering cascade of problems with no observable pattern to unite them.

A little over 10 minutes earlier, Sy Liebergot, a controller at the Electrical, Environmental, and Consumables Management (EECOM) desk, had made the routine request that the crew "stir up" the *Odyssey*'s oxygen tanks. Stored in a cold 'cryogenic' state, oxygen and hydrogen flowed into three fuel cells where they were catalysed by electrodes to produce the lifeblood of the Apollo spacecraft: water, oxygen and electricity.

Stirring the tanks was supposed to ensure an accurate reading of how much of the strange substance (not quite liquid, not quite gas) remained. This time, however, failed switches inside the tank created a short circuit, igniting the Teflon insulation. The spacecraft shook and shuddered. Exchanging frightened glances with his crew, Lovell noticed that one of the craft's two main power distribution panels was offline. "Hey, we've got a problem here!" shouted Swigert. Jack Lousma, the astronaut serving as CapCom (the sole official charged with communicating with the crew) asked the astronauts to repeat, prompting Lovell's iconic phrase: "Houston, we've had a problem."

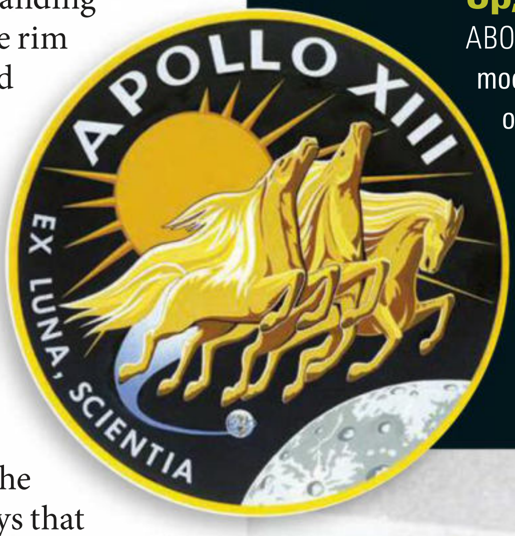
The rookie astronaut

Apollo 13's crew found themselves assigned to the mission through the vagaries of Nasa's crew selection process, a complex system predicated on merit, horse-trading and chance. James A Lovell Jr was a former naval aviator and veteran spacefarer who had flown into space on three previous missions, including the trailblazing Apollo 8 mission that had circumnavigated the moon in December 1968. Fred W Haise Jr was a rookie astronaut and former fighter pilot who had been selected for Nasa's fifth class of astronauts in 1966. Lovell and Haise had both been part of the backup crew for Apollo 13 but were promoted to the prime crew after the original commander, Alan Shepard (the first American in space), was grounded to recover from an ear operation. The back-up's back-up, Jack Swigert, was assigned to the crew after astronaut Ken Mattingly had been exposed to rubella. As the astronaut corps' sole bachelor, the media was fascinated by Swigert, dubbing him a "swinger" with a "girl in every airport".

Apollo 13's mission profile reflected the ambitions of a space agency with two crewed lunar landings under its belt. July 1969's Apollo 11 and November 1969's Apollo 12 had both landed on lunar maria, dark patches on the near side of the moon named by ancient astronomers for their resemblance to earthly seas. These vast and dusty volcanic plains provided comparatively easy landing sites but from a geologist's perspective they could not compare to the mysteries of the Lunar Highlands. Apollo 13's landing site was near the mountain-like rim of the Fra Mauro crater. Named after a 15th-century Venetian cartographer, Fra Mauro's topography presented a challenging landing as reflected sunlight would dissolve the shadows of its boulders and hills.

For all their speechmaking and flag planting, the Apollo astronauts had work to do. In the cumulative three and a half days that they spent on the moon's surface outside of their lunar modules, the crews of the entire Apollo programme collected and returned 382 kilograms of lunar rock and soil, obtained more than 6,000 images of the lunar surface and deployed 2,100 kilograms of scientific equipment. Apollo 13's mission was to investigate whether material scattered by the impact that had formed the crater might shed light on the early geological history of the Earth and the moon. Haise and Lovell would drill 10 feet into the lunar surface as well as deploying equipment to measure lunar seismic activity, solar-wind particles and a Lunar Atmosphere Detector.

This busy schedule was, of course, contingent on the astronauts making it to the moon in the first place. Keeping three fragile human bodies alive in the pitiless void of outer space was an absurdly complicated task. Setting the wrong course at critical junctures during the mission might see the craft slam into the Earth or the moon or, grimmer still, stranded in orbit indefinitely. Cabin pressure had to be maintained, along with a supply of oxygen. If the craft depressurised then the crew faced the unimaginable



Up, up and away
ABOVE: Apollo 13 heads for the moon atop a Saturn V rocket on 11 April 1970
LEFT: The mission emblem – featuring the motto, translated as "From the Moon, Knowledge" – worn by the astronauts on their spacesuits

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Calm before the storm
Flight Director Gene Kranz (centre) watches astronaut Fred Haise during a TV transmission from Apollo 13. "Flight Control will *never* lose an American in space," Kranz declared during the crisis

Keeping three fragile human bodies alive in the pitiless void of outer space was an absurdly complicated task

Sickness strikes
Astronauts (from l to r) Fred Haise, James Lovell and Ken Mattingly on 6 April 1970. Exposure to Rubella forced Mattingly to withdraw from the Apollo 13 mission but he was to play a role in its rescue

agony of their blood boiling in their veins. Problems with their oxygen supply could lead to the crew rapidly asphyxiating or being gradually poisoned by the carbon dioxide in their own breath. The astronauts would feel drowsy before dizziness and confusion set in. Sweating and trembling with ragged breath, their vision would dim as they succumbed to unconsciousness.

All too aware that an addled astronaut – affected by deviations in temperature – might make a fatal error, Nasa set the command module cabin temperature of its Apollo spacecraft at the goldilocks temperature of 70°F (21°C).

Most frightening of all was the prospect of a fire. In the oxygen-rich atmosphere of a Nasa spacecraft, a small spark would blossom into an inferno. On 27 January 1967, Apollo 1 astronauts Gus Grissom, Roger Chaffee and Ed White were killed when an electrical spark ignited their command module during a pre-launch test. Nasa's investigation ruled that, perhaps mercifully, they were asphyxiated by fumes before the flames could claim them.

Mid-course correction

Now, 55 hours and 55 minutes into the Apollo 13 mission, Nasa found itself confronted with a nightmare scenario once again. Apollo 13's oxygen tank had ignited during what was supposed to be a comparatively uneventful stretch of space travel. After lift-off on the 11th, the command and service module *Odyssey* (the mission's mother ship) had already retrieved its lunar excursion module *Aquarius*, the lunar lander and its ascent apparatus, from the discarded third stage of the Saturn rocket. The following day, the *Aquarius-Odyssey* assemblage had performed a mid-course correction burst of its engines to leave the so-called 'free return' trajectory that would have eventually seen the craft drift back to Earth. But then, on the 13th, disaster struck. Watching oxygen vent from the stricken spacecraft and reading

Glued to the screen
Astronauts and flight controllers monitor console activity during the operation to return the Apollo 13 crew home safely. As the drama unfolded, some were driven to chain-smoking and prayer

indications that two of the craft's three fuel cells had failed, the astronauts realised that a lunar landing was out of the question. Apollo 13's mission was now one of survival.

With the *Odyssey* losing power, Mission Control had to quickly decide how to bring Apollo 13 home. The short way was a risky 'direct abort' trajectory, where the astronauts would jettison the lunar module and turn straight back using the *Odyssey*'s remaining power. The long way involved using the *Aquarius*, the cramped lunar module that had been designed for just two astronauts, as a lifeboat and using a free-return trajectory that would take the spacecraft around the far side of the moon before being pulled back to Earth. Kranz did not trust the astronauts' chances in the dying command module. So, at 10:50pm Houston time, the crew abandoned the *Odyssey* and sought refuge in the *Aquarius*. At 2:43am the *Aquarius*'s engine fired, shifting the spacecraft back into the free-return trajectory.

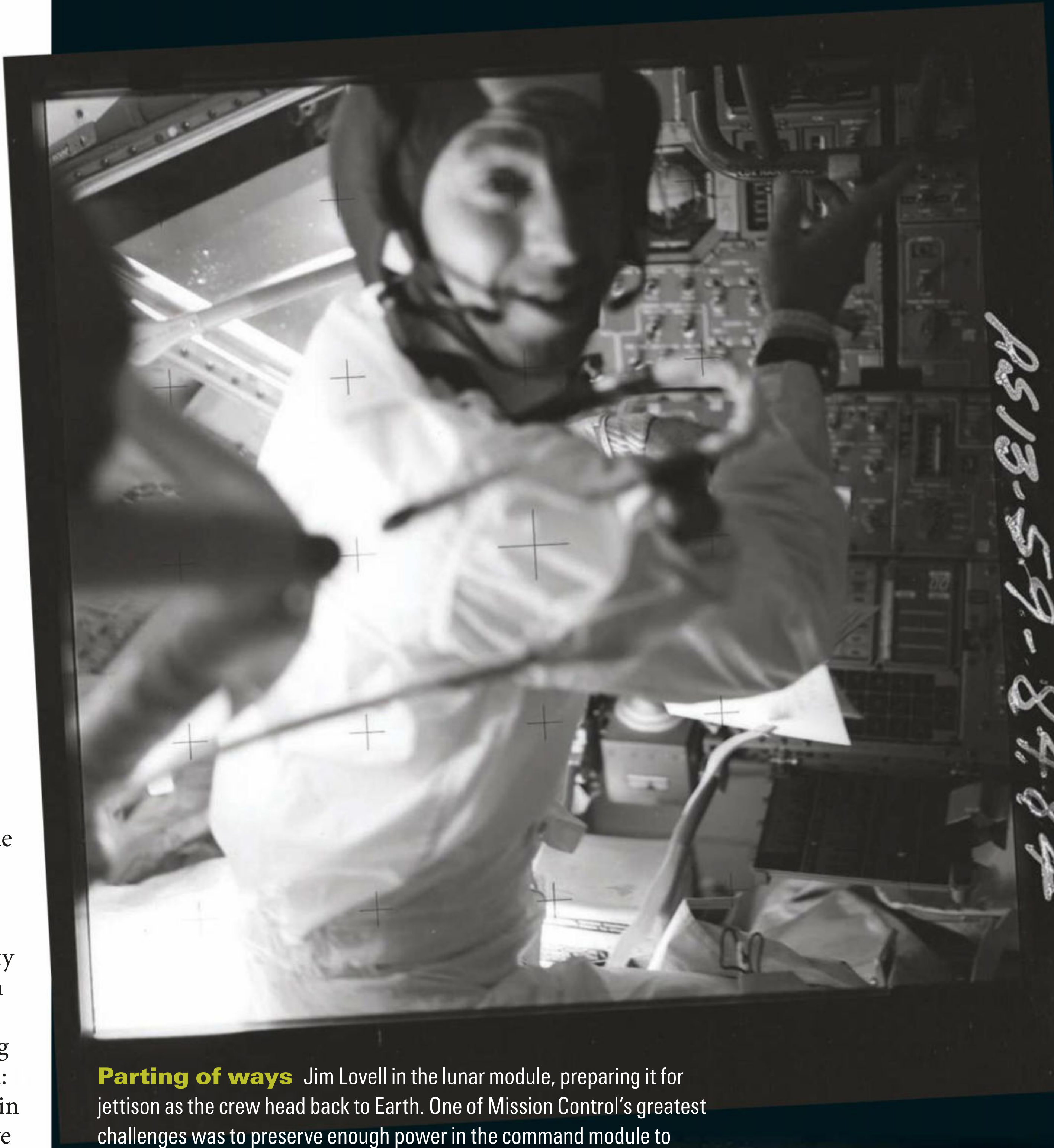
With the astronauts safe in the *Aquarius* for the time being, Mission Control's priority was to conserve power to leave *Odyssey* with just enough to make the necessary course correction manoeuvres for re-entry. Briefing the assembled controllers, Kranz declaimed: "Flight control will *never* lose an American in space. You've got to believe, your people have got to believe that this crew is coming home."

As the drama unfolded in space, Nasa technicians scrambled to find a way to return the astronauts to Earth safely. In between working their way through "endless negotiations" and calculations, the technicians snatched what sleep they could in the break rooms or under their desks. Meanwhile, Ken Mattingly, the crew member Swigert had replaced, and other astronauts ran simulations to test what worked – and what did not.

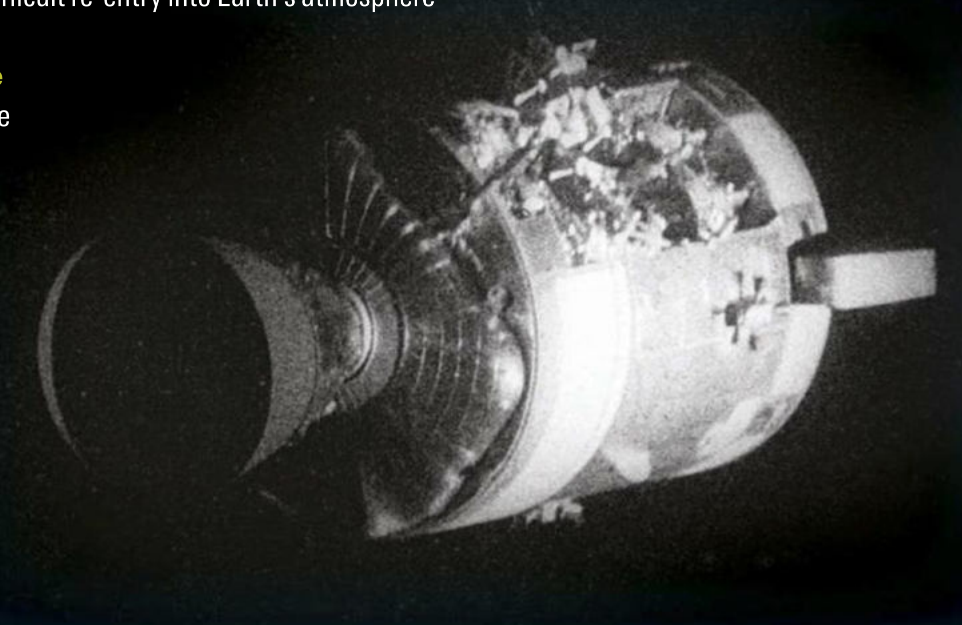
Nixon's nervous energy

Apollo 13's problems had begun shortly after the crew concluded their first television broadcast. No major network had broadcast the footage live; having already achieved two moon landings, the Apollo formula had dulled with repetition. Once news of the crisis broke, however, Apollo 13 became the biggest news story of the day. Like many Americans, President Richard Nixon obsessively followed news of the mission; National Security Advisor Henry Kissinger recalled that the crisis "took a heavy toll on Nixon's nervous energy".

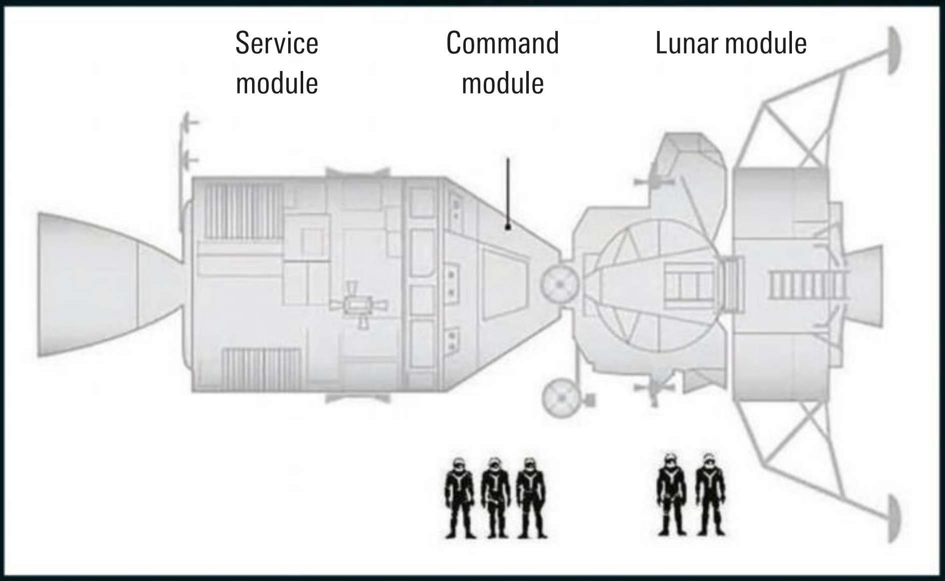
No sooner had one problem been solved than another presented itself. Conserving power meant sacrificing crew comfort as temperatures in the *Aquarius* plummeted. The breath of three astronauts in a module meant



Parting of ways Jim Lovell in the lunar module, preparing it for jettison as the crew head back to Earth. One of Mission Control's greatest challenges was to preserve enough power in the command module to negotiate the tortuously difficult re-entry into Earth's atmosphere



Men and machine
RIGHT: The *Odyssey* service module bears the scars of the explosion
BELOW: A diagram of the Apollo 13 spacecraft, consisting of its combined command and service module *Odyssey* (capacity for three men) and the lunar module *Aquarius* (capacity for two)



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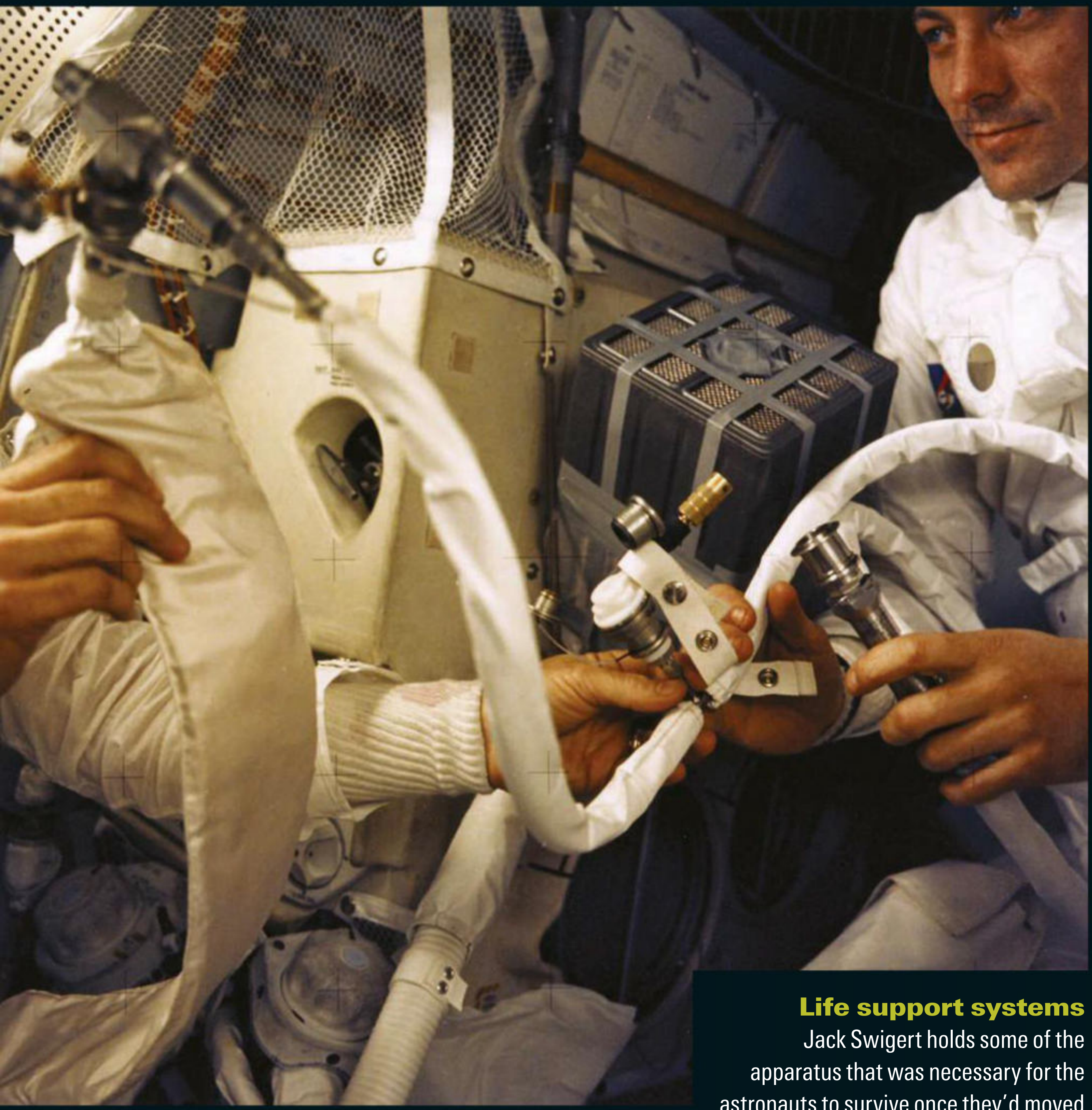
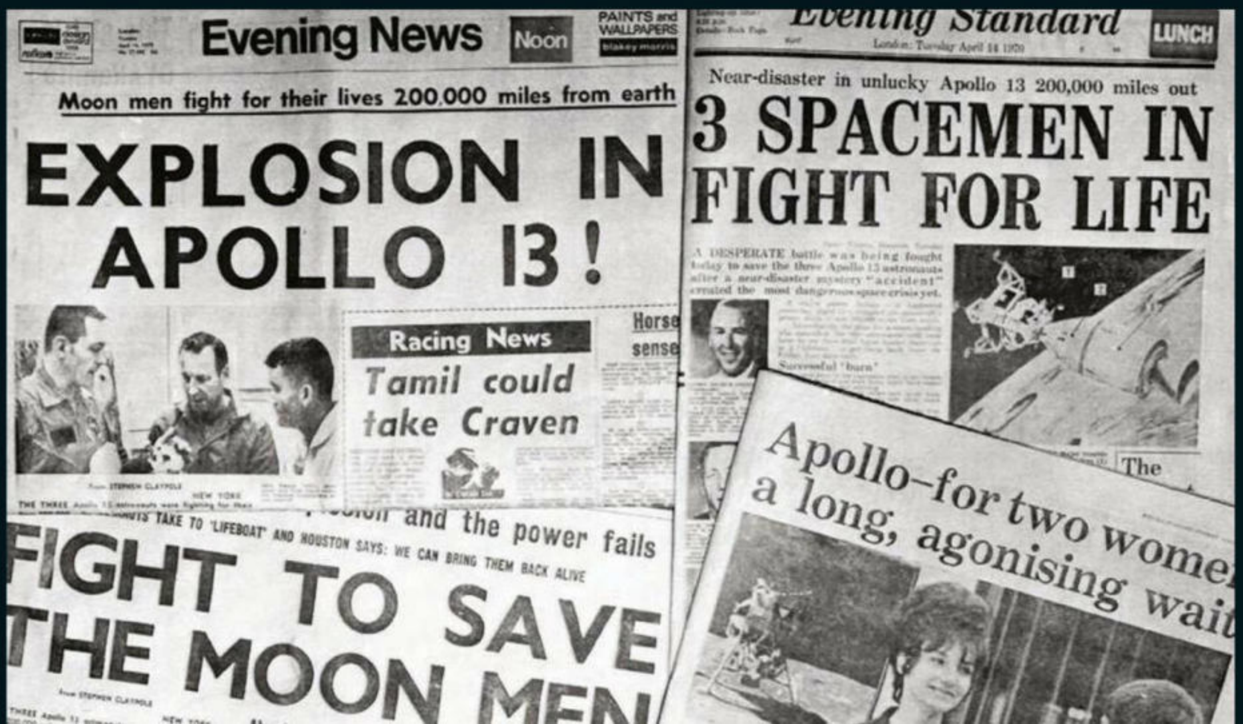


Life support systems Jack Swigert holds some of the apparatus that was necessary for the astronauts to survive once they'd moved to the *Aquarius* lunar module – their 'life boat' – before returning to the command module to attempt the return to Earth

Safe space LEFT: *Aquarius* pictured on 17 April. The cramped lunar module was only designed for two astronauts but temporarily had to accommodate three
BELOW: The world was gripped by the scramble to save the astronauts' lives, as these British newspaper headlines show



Evening News Noon

PAINTS and WALLPAPERS

Moon men fight for their lives 200,000 miles from earth

EXPLOSION IN APOLLO 13!

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Tamil could take Craven

Horse sense

and the power fails

ASTRONAUTS TAKE TO 'LIFEBOAT' AND HOUSTON SAYS: WE CAN BRING THEM BACK ALIVE

FIGHT TO SAVE THE MOON MEN

Evening Standard LUNCH

London: Tuesday April 14 1970

Near-disaster in unlucky Apollo 13 200,000 miles out

3 SPACEMEN IN FIGHT FOR LIFE

A DESPERATE battle was being fought today to save the three Apollo 13 astronauts after a near-disaster mystery "accident" created the most dangerous space crisis yet.

Successful 'burn'

Apollo–for two women a long, agonising wait

NASA/SHUTTERSTOCK

MORE FROM US

Thomas Ellis will be discussing Apollo 13 on our podcast. You'll be able to listen to that at **historyextra.com/podcast**

The crew cobbled together an adaptor from a plastic bag, a cardboard flight plan cover, a sock and duct tape

for two overwhelmed the *Aquarius*'s carbon dioxide scrubbers. Nasa's engineers scrambled to come up with a way of adapting the square canisters from *Odyssey* to fit the cylindrical receptacles in *Aquarius* before the crew was poisoned. Joe Kerwin, a doctor-turned-astronaut who had taken over as capsule communicator, sent the crew on a frantic scavenger hunt to cobble together an improvised adaptor from a plastic bag, a cardboard flight plan cover, a sock and plenty of duct tape. Every procedure was checked and double checked, with EECOM controller John Aaron frequently demanding controllers start again from scratch if a proposed solution squandered water, power or oxygen.

Apollo 13's trek home was punctuated by crises. On the afternoon of Wednesday 15 April, the tired, cold and dehydrated crew were shocked by another bang and a shudder. *Aquarius*'s Battery Two had exploded. Luckily this problem was survivable. Twice, in the early hours of Thursday and the morning of Friday, Mission Control had to instruct the crew to correct the *Aquarius*'s course.

As re-entry loomed, the crew prepared to jettison the *Odyssey*'s service module before moving from *Aquarius* back into the *Odyssey*'s command module for the ride down to Earth. Separating the service module offered the crew a sobering glimpse of the damage the first explosion had caused. "There's one whole side of that spacecraft missing!" exclaimed Lovell as he peered through the *Odyssey*'s window. As they moved back from the *Aquarius* to the *Odyssey*, the crew brought

As the *Odyssey* hurtled through the atmosphere, a leaden silence descended over Mission Control

Waiting game Marilyn Lovell, wife of astronaut James, listens to updates on her husband's endangered mission, as her son Jeffrey plays with an aeroplane

Back to Earth The Apollo 13 astronauts (in white suits) await a helicopter pickup with a navy frogman, 17 April 1970. Around 40 million Americans watched them splash down in the Pacific Ocean

GETTY IMAGES

scientific equipment to compensate for the lack of moon rocks that had been factored into the craft's weight for re-entry calculations. At 10:43am Houston time, the crew jettisoned their trusty lifeboat. A little over an hour later re-entry began.

Re-entry took 14 minutes and for much of that time communication between the craft and the ground would be impossible. As the *Odyssey* hurtled through the atmosphere, its heat-shield wreathed in flame, a leaden silence descended over Mission Control as its controllers chain-smoked and prayed.

A minute and a half after the expected communications blackout time had ended, the controllers' prayers were answered: a Nasa communications relay aircraft finally announced it had acquired a signal on Apollo 13. Cheers filled Mission Control, but there was one last hurdle: the systems used to warm the parachute systems had been powered down, raising the ominous prospect of a repeat of the April 1967 Soyuz 1 tragedy. Soviet cosmonaut Vladimir Komarov had been pulverised when his capsule's parachute malfunctioned, smashing his spacecraft back into the Earth.

Fortunately, Apollo 13's parachute unfolded and communications were finally re-established with "Okay, Joe!" – Swigert's crackling response to Joe Kerwin – as the *Odyssey* drifted towards the Pacific Ocean.

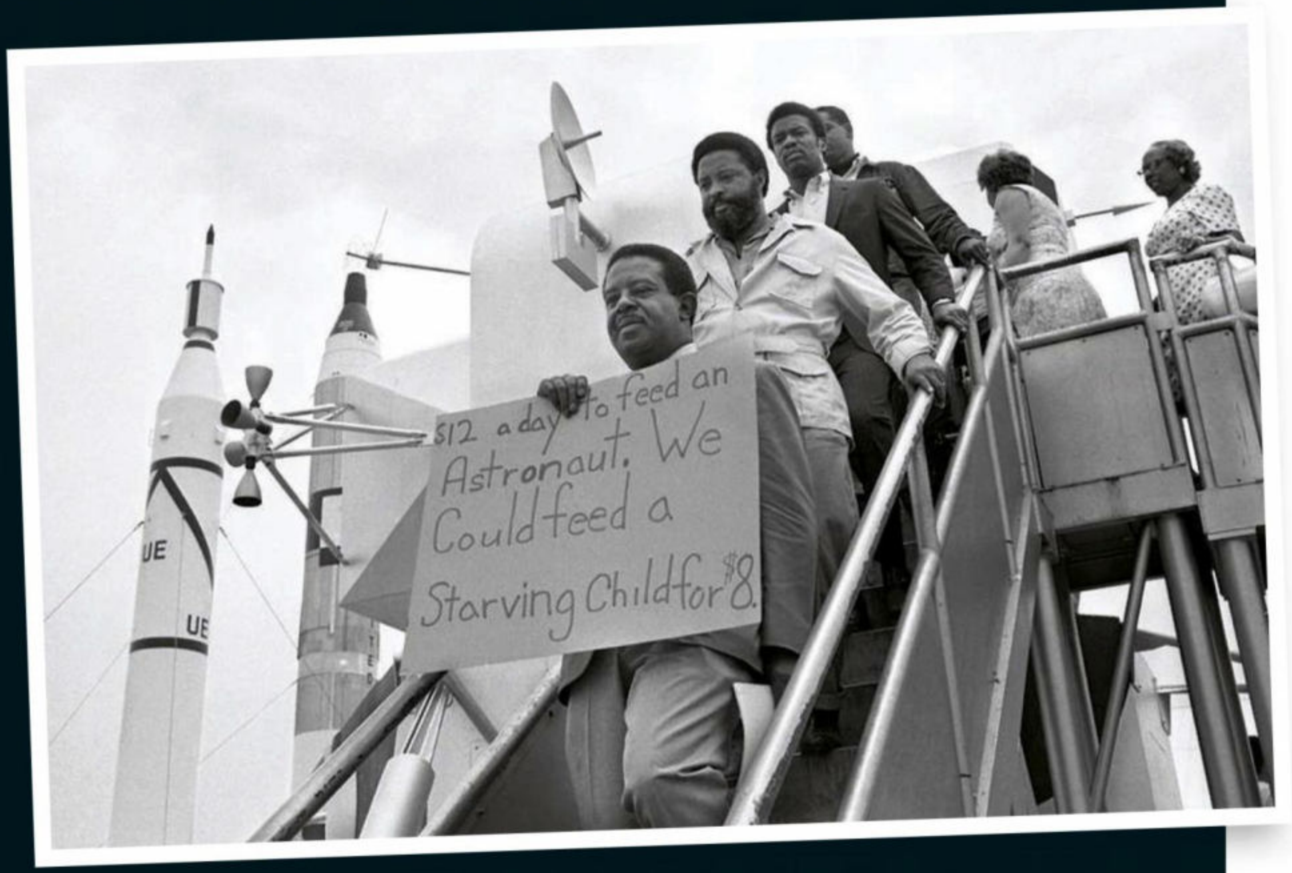
An estimated 40 million Americans watched the splashdown. Quoted in the *New York Times*, 49-year-old Thomas G McCarthy Jr of Pittsburgh spoke for many who had followed the story: "Thank God this thing is over; I got an ulcer worrying about it." H

Thomas Ellis teaches at the department of international history at LSE

LISTEN The new BBC Sounds podcast, **13 Minutes to the Moon – Season 2**, tells the story of the Apollo 13 mission. You'll find it at *bbc.co.uk/sounds*

Nasa’s war with the hippies

The heroics of Apollo 13 couldn’t mask a growing scepticism among Americans about the space programme, writes **Thomas Ellis**



Ralph Abernathy (front) protests against African-American poverty on a mock-up of the Apollo 11 lunar module

When the news broke that the Apollo 13 crew had splashed down safely in the Pacific Ocean, Americans breathed a huge sigh of relief. But their elation couldn’t hide an underlying truth: that the nation was experiencing a ‘Space Slump’, a sense of disenchantment with space exploration that had begun in the late 1960s.

Apollo 11’s first broadcast from the lunar surface on 20 July 1969 was watched by an estimated global audience of 650 million people. Yet, the following year, a survey in *The Philadelphia Sunday Bulletin* found 70 per cent of respondents unable to remember the name of Neil Armstrong.

While some Americans were apathetic, others were hostile. Critics charged that space heroics were a distraction from pressing earthly problems such as racial and economic inequality and America’s ongoing war in south-east Asia. There was some truth to this. President Richard Nixon had used Apollo 13 as an excuse to postpone a report to the nation on the situation in Vietnam. On the eve of Apollo 11, the civil rights leader Reverend Ralph Abernathy had led a contingent of the Southern Christian Leadership Poor People’s Campaign to Cape Kennedy to raise awareness of the poverty afflicting African-American communities. Abernathy brought with him four mules, a reference to broken post-Civil War promises that liberated slaves would be given “Forty acres and a mule”.

Nasa’s crew-cut astronauts and engineers were seen as increasingly out of step with the rapidly changing times. Speaking in 1970, Nasa administrator Dr Thomas Paine drew battle lines between the space agency’s rational, “outward looking and mathematical” “Squareland” and the emotional, superstitious, “non-mathematical” hippies of “Potland”. In truth, many young people influenced by the counterculture were turned off by Nasa’s insistence on emphasising sober science over the contemplation of humanity’s place in the cosmos. Writing for the radical magazine *Fifth Estate*, Hank Malone derided Apollo 11 as “the ultimate WASP (White Anglo-Saxon Protestant) trip”, charging that it “utterly lacked poetry and wonder”.

Apollo 13’s potent blend of danger, heroism and ingenious engineering briefly rekindled the adventurous spirit of the early space age. But this was not enough to bridge the cultural chasm between the crew of the *Aquarius* and the generation lionised by *Hair* as the children of the ‘Age of Aquarius’. This clash was exemplified on 4 June 1970, when Jim Lovell and Jack Swigert stormed out of a New York performance of the cult hippie musical. Collared by the musical’s press agent in the theatre lobby, Swigert voiced his objection to the stars and stripes being draped over the shoulders of a shaggy-haired cast member: “I don’t like the way they wrapped the flag around that guy.”

Millions of Americans anxiously watched coverage of Apollo 13 and prayed for the astronauts’ safe return, but this unity proved short-lived in a nation riven by cultural, generational and racial divides.

> Many young Americans influenced by the counterculture were turned off by Nasa’s fixation with sober science

A 1970 performance of *Hair*, the cult musical that hippies loved – and Apollo 13 astronauts hated

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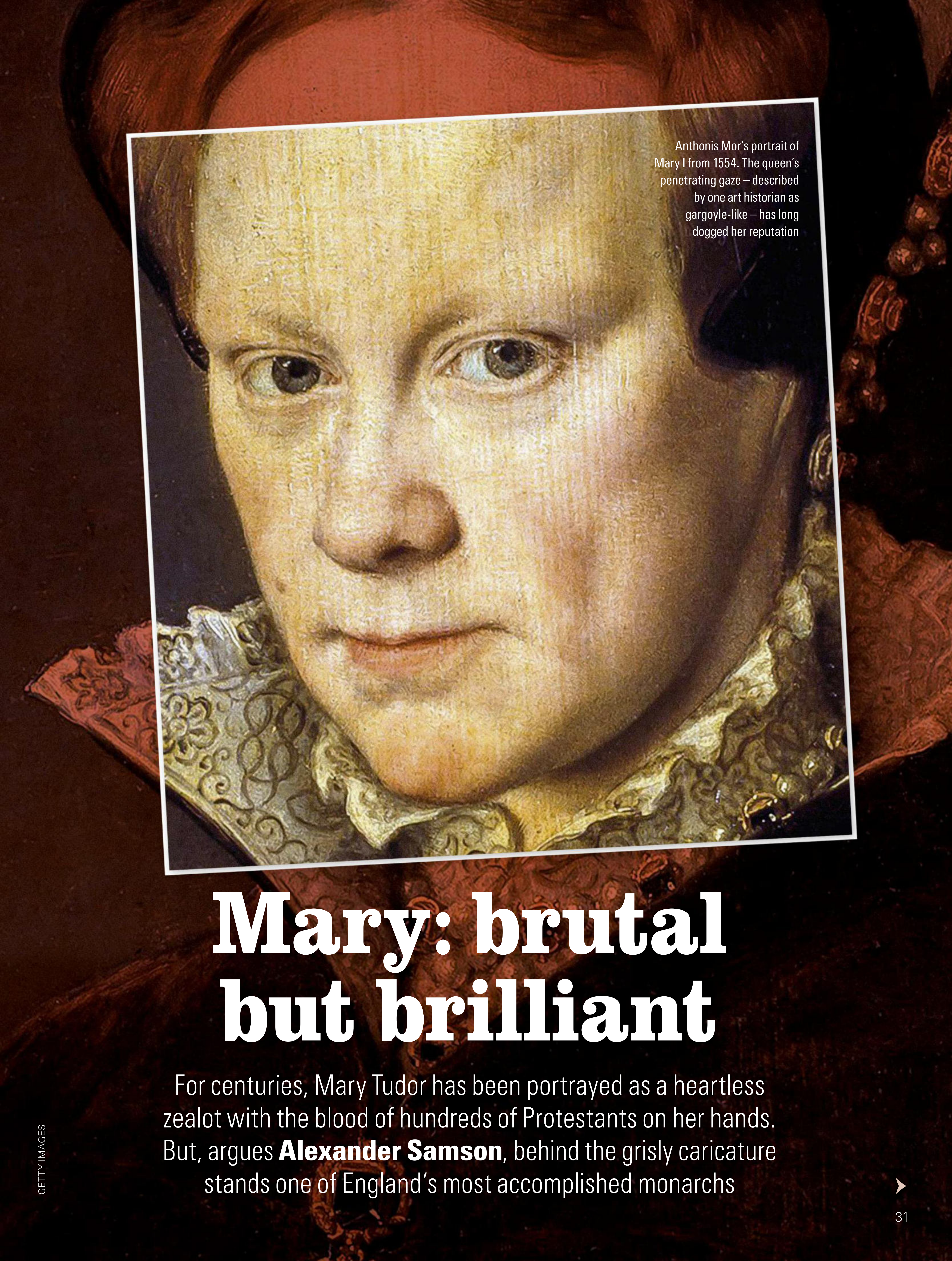

Anthonis Mor's portrait of Mary I from 1554. The queen's penetrating gaze – described by one art historian as gargoyle-like – has long dogged her reputation

Mary: brutal but brilliant

For centuries, Mary Tudor has been portrayed as a heartless zealot with the blood of hundreds of Protestants on her hands. But, argues **Alexander Samson**, behind the grisly caricature stands one of England's most accomplished monarchs

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“A horrible and bloody time.” That’s how the 16th-century Puritan preacher John Foxe described the reign of Mary I. And it’s a verdict that’s stuck. For much of the past 450 years, Mary has been widely cast as a malevolent force in English history. She’s the cruel reactionary who burned Protestants at the stake; the Catholic traitor who served England up on a plate to her grasping Spanish husband. And perhaps worst of all, she’s the jealous half-sister who plotted the future Elizabeth I’s downfall – thus almost denying England one of its greatest reigns. When historians describe the 16th century as a glorious chapter in English history, more often than not they don’t have the five years that Mary occupied the throne in mind.

Of course, not everyone has shared this negative assessment of England’s first queen regnant. In her influential 12-volume *Lives of the Queens of England* (1842–48), the historical writer and poet Agnes Strickland offered a more sympathetic assessment of Mary, informed by a return to primary sources.

Three major biographies following on the heels of the 450th anniversary of Mary’s death (in 2008) also attempted to redress the balance, praising the queen for her intelligence, astute policies and refusal to be dominated by court favourites.

But such reappraisals have failed to turn the tide of opinion. For her attempts to resuscitate Mary’s reputation, Strickland was dismissed as a “papistical sympathiser”. As for the more recent efforts to fight Mary’s corner, they were unceremoniously thrust aside in 2010 by a London Dungeon exhibition entitled Killer Queen: Bloody Mary. Not only were visitors to the dungeons ‘treated’ to the smell of burning flesh, Tube adverts for the show featured a digital poster of Mary that morphed into a screeching zombie – one deemed so frightening that the Advertising Standards Authority chose to ban it.

> **Mary’s Catholic regime has been portrayed as a temporary blip on the road to Anglican triumph**

So why has the image of a bloody, fanatical Mary won out so conclusively over more sympathetic appraisals of the Tudor queen? To a great extent, the answer lies in religion. For centuries, historians have celebrated the Protestant Reformation in England (begun by Mary’s father, Henry VIII, and extended by her siblings Edward VI and Elizabeth I) as a movement of national liberation. Mary’s role in the whole saga is often portrayed as that of a wicked Catholic witch – one who threatened to strangle this glorious chapter in English history at birth. The re-Catholicisation of England under Mary is seen consequently as a temporary reverse on the road to Anglican triumph, a backward-facing and reactionary undermining of hard-won sovereign independence. It is this fact, above all others, that has fed Mary’s dark reputation.

But cut through the stereotypes and the propaganda, and examine what Mary *actually* achieved, and I believe that a far more positive picture of Mary’s reign emerges – that of a conscientious woman who blazed a trail for female rulers, and established England as a serious player on the world stage. In fact, if any of the Tudor kings and queens can lay claim to the title ‘illustrious’, then I would argue that it’s Mary.

Herculean daring

That Mary was able to secure the throne at all was a remarkable achievement. When her brother, the fervently Protestant Edward VI, died on 6 July 1553, her future hung in the balance. Edward had disinherited his Catholic sister from the succession, and the powerful Duke of Northumberland – supported by a well-provisioned army – was preparing to make his move for the throne. When Northumberland had the Protestant Lady Jane Grey (a relative of Mary’s) proclaimed queen on 10 July 1553, Mary found herself firmly on the back foot. But she soon turned the situation to her advantage, gathering a small but loyal group of followers around her, assembling a military force at Framlingham Castle in Suffolk, and turning up the pressure on her opponents. Northumberland soon crumbled and, on 1 October, Mary was crowned queen in Westminster Abbey. It was, wrote one of the new queen’s supporters, a feat “of Herculean rather than womanly daring”.

If one image has come to define the woman who reigned England for the following five years, then it is perhaps Anthonis Mor’s portrait of Mary from 1554 (shown on page 29). One art historian has described the queen’s gaze in the painting as fanatical, gargoyle-like and frightening. But this is certainly not a characterisation that the diplomat Annibale Litolfi would have recognised. Having met Mary, he noted that she was “not at all ugly as in her portraits, and that her lively expression, white skin and air of

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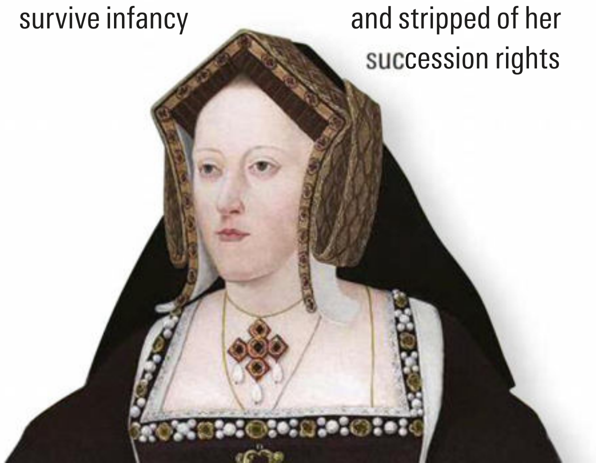
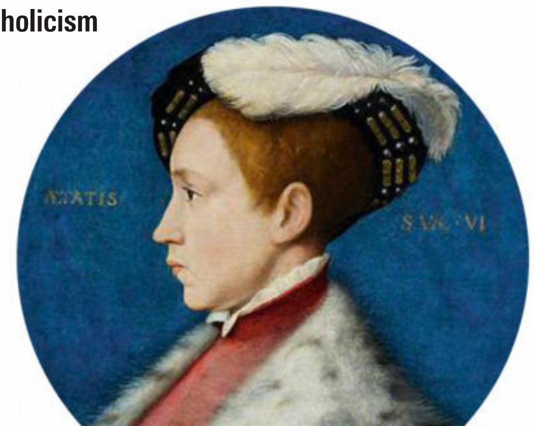
TIMELINE **Mary’s turbulent life**

18 February 1516
Mary is born in Greenwich. She is the only child of **Henry VIII and his first wife, Catherine of Aragon** (pictured below), to survive infancy



23 May 1533
Henry VIII’s marriage to Catherine is declared invalid five months after he **marries a second wife, Anne Boleyn.** Mary is deemed illegitimate and stripped of her succession rights

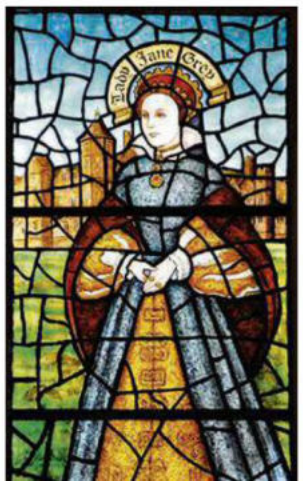
28 January 1547
Henry VIII dies and is succeeded by his son, as **Edward VI** (below). Mary repeatedly defies her fervently Protestant half-brother by **refusing to renounce her Catholicism**



6 July 1553
King Edward VI dies, aged 15. **Lady Jane Grey**, a Protestant relation of Mary’s, is proclaimed queen four days later

3 August 1553
Having gathered a military force in Suffolk and outmanoeuvred her rivals, **Mary rides into London in triumph**, accompanied by her half-sister Elizabeth. Lady Jane Grey is imprisoned in the Tower of London

1 October 1553
Mary is crowned queen by her lord chancellor, Stephen Gardiner, at Westminster Abbey



Lady Jane Grey, who stood between Mary and the throne in July 1553

18+

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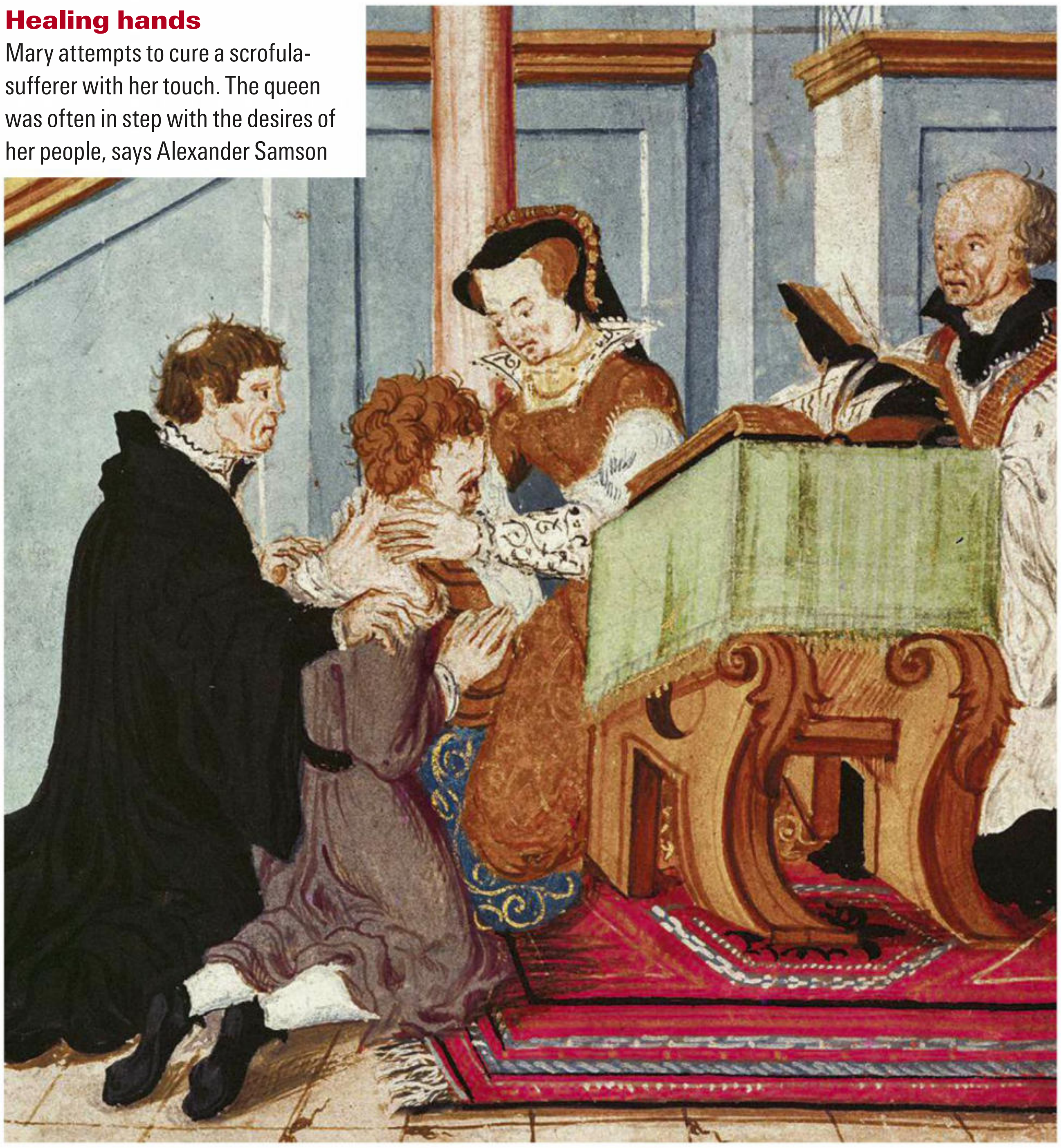


Healing hands
Mary attempts to cure a scrofula-sufferer with her touch. The queen was often in step with the desires of her people, says Alexander Samson

BRIDGEMAN/GETTY IMAGES/ALAMY

gratia, even rendered her beautiful".

As for the idea that she was dour and austere, this is belied by an anecdote relayed by Juan Hurtado de Mendoza, a servant of Philip of Spain, in which, we're told, that Mary laughed so hard at a joke that she spluttered for breath.

This is a mere vignette but it offers us a glimpse of Mary's fun-loving side. Here was a woman who loved fashion, gambling, hunting, entertainments and chivalric pursuits.

If the accusation that Mary was devoid of humour is groundless, then so is the image of a queen hopelessly out of step with the desires of her people. Few doubt now that the majority of the population in England welcomed Mary's restoration of traditional religion following the moves towards Reformation rolled out under her father and brother over the past two decades.

Mary's religious programme was supported by a highly effective campaign of preaching, public religious ritual and a rapid restocking of the material fabric of churches. Bells and hymns echoed through the streets as many parishes signalled their solidarity with the queen's traditional beliefs.

But this was not a reactionary resumption of hardline Catholicism. Mary's reign witnessed a movement away from pilgrimage and the cult of saints, pointing the way for the reinvigorated Catholicism of Europe in the late 16th century. It is worth remembering that the *Great Bible* – the first complete translation of the Bible into English, authorised by Henry VIII – was never officially withdrawn under Mary. What's more, monastery lands confiscated by her father were not returned to the church but remained in the hands of their new owners.

In fact, Catholic restoration must be counted among Mary's greatest achievements, reversing in five short years the wholesale theological changes of a generation. The longevity of England's Catholic recusant community after her reign – during the Protestant administration of Elizabeth I and beyond – is due, in no small part, to the effectiveness of Mary's religious policies.

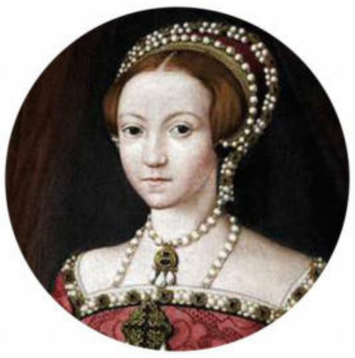
Blood on her hands

One area in which we can't exonerate Mary, however, is the campaign of persecution that earned her the title 'Bloody Mary'. Her savage clampdown on religious dissent claimed at least 284 victims over four years – the majority of whom were burned at the stake.

At one time, historians sought to distance Mary from the persecution of Protestants, blaming it on Spanish influence, embittered

12 February 1554
Lady Jane Grey is executed on Mary's orders. Her fate is sealed by the so-called Wyatt rebellion against Mary's rule, in which her father is implicated

18 March 1554
Mary has her **half-sister, Elizabeth (pictured below), imprisoned in the Tower of London**, after it's alleged that she too supported the Wyatt rebellion. Yet lacking firm evidence of her sister's guilt, Mary refrains from ordering Elizabeth's execution

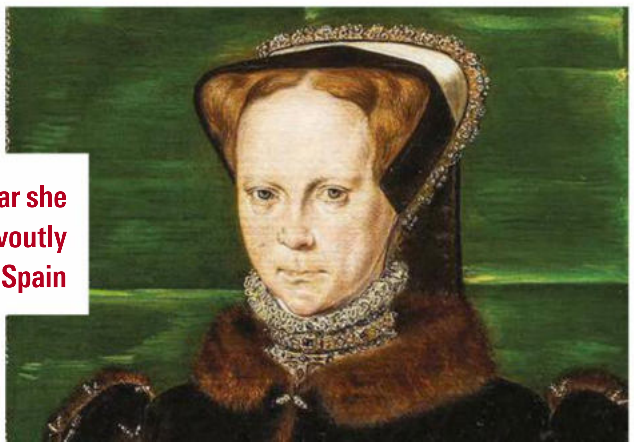


25 July 1554
Despite the reservations of some of the most powerful figures in the English court, **Mary marries Philip of Spain** at Winchester Cathedral

April 1555
Thanksgiving services are held in London after erroneous rumours spread that Mary has given birth to a son. Mary, it seems, **has experienced a false pregnancy**

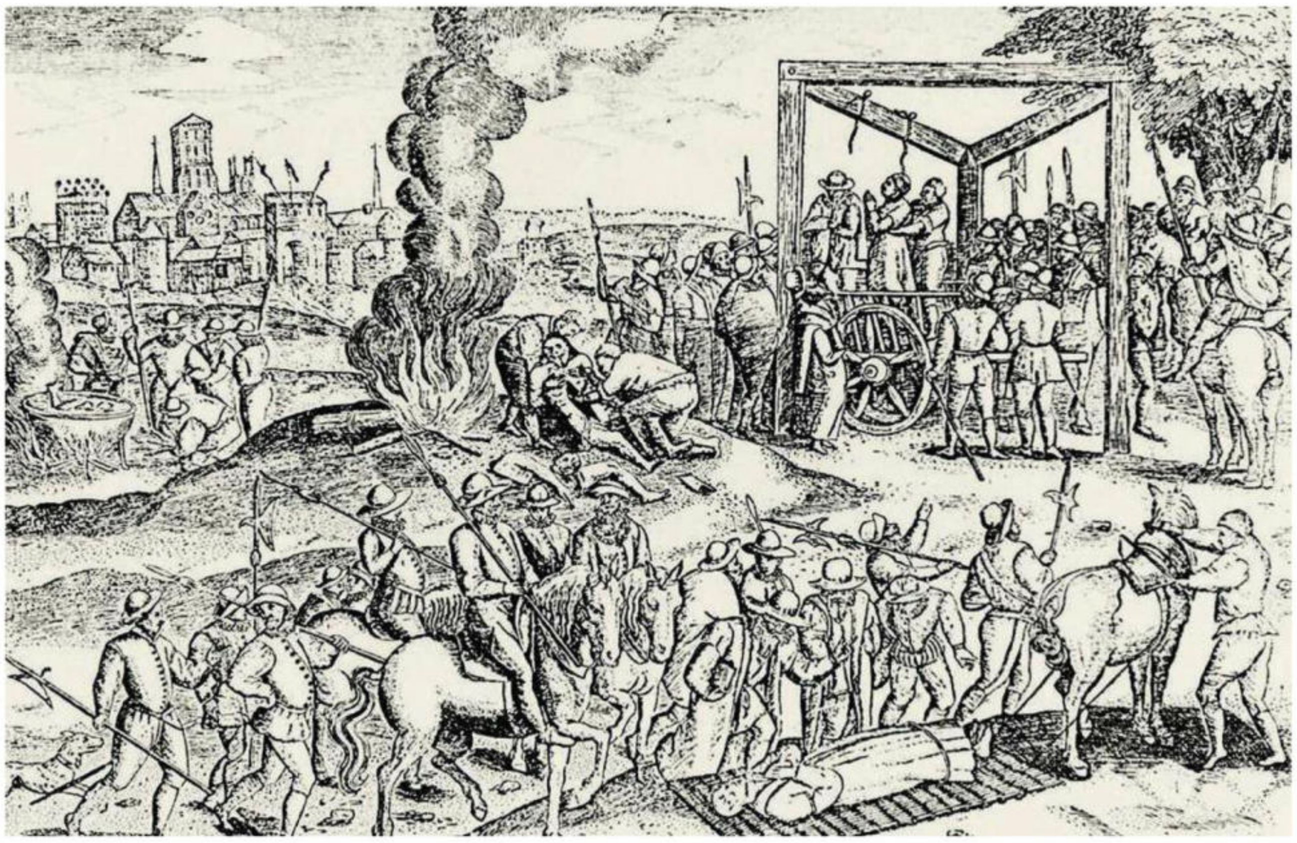
21 March 1556
Thomas Cranmer, former archbishop of Canterbury, is burned at the stake. He is one of **more than 280 'heretics' executed** during Mary's reign

17 November 1558
Mary dies, aged 42, during an influenza epidemic. The English crown passes to her half-sister, **Elizabeth**



Mary in 1554, the year she married the devoutly Catholic Philip of Spain conservatives or unscrupulous counsellors. Such arguments are undermined by the fact that witnesses at the later trial of Bartolomé Carranza, one of the architects of the Catholic restoration, attested to the queen's personal involvement in discussions with both him and Cardinal Reginald Pole concerning religious policy and theology. And there's little escaping the fact that the burning of dissenters was particularly intense in England.

In fact, the only defence you could offer Mary is that she was far from the only European monarch to persecute dissidents. The Council of Blood in the Low Countries claimed a thousand lives in just over seven years, while more than 200 Catholics were put to death under Elizabeth I. In short, all rulers were under an obligation of intolerance and burning 'heretics' was a ubiquitous practice. What's more, recent scholarship has suggested that, by the end of Mary's reign, high-profile victims were declining markedly and dissidence apparently weakening. Mary's campaign of persecution may have been brutal, but all the suggestions are that it had the desired effect.



Grisly scene Protestants are put to death in the 1550s, as shown in a contemporary etching. Attempts to distance Mary from the killing of 'heretics' simply aren't supported by the sources, argues Alexander Samson

Getting her man

If Mary's ardent Catholicism was – in the eyes of generations of Protestant polemicists – her greatest crime, then her choice of husband only made matter worse. Mary's marriage to Philip, the future king of Spain, exposed her to a barrage of criticism: that she had little agency in the marriage; that it was an entirely loveless marriage (for more on this, see box right); that Philip's true aim in marrying Mary was to incorporate England into his Spanish Catholic empire.

None of these arguments entirely stand up to scrutiny. Mary was certainly no passive onlooker during the marriage negotiations, bargaining hard and exaggerating the weakness of her position in order to extract greater concessions and more favourable terms. She certainly desired the union, too – and demonstrated as much when facing down opposition from parliament and her lord chancellor, Stephen Gardiner. "If she were married against her will she would not live three months," she declared.

Yet opposition to the marriage continued to simmer – and, in early 1554, it exploded into a popular uprising, led by the Kentish politician and landowner Thomas Wyatt. Soon the rebels were growing in number and heading for London: Mary's administration found itself in an existential crisis.

But this was a challenge the queen proved herself more than capable of meeting. As the revolt gathered momentum, Mary delivered a speech at the Guildhall that galvanised resistance to the uprising among Londoners. Casting herself as the mother of the people, she declared: "I cannot tell how naturally the mother loveth the child, for I was never mother of any… if a prince or governor may as naturally and earnestly love her subjects, as the mother doth the child, then assure yourselves, that I, being your lady and mistress, do as earnestly and tenderly love and favour you." Denied Londoners' support, Wyatt's rebellion was doomed to fail. He was captured and executed, his head and limbs placed on public display. Soon, both houses of parliament had approved the marriage treaty.

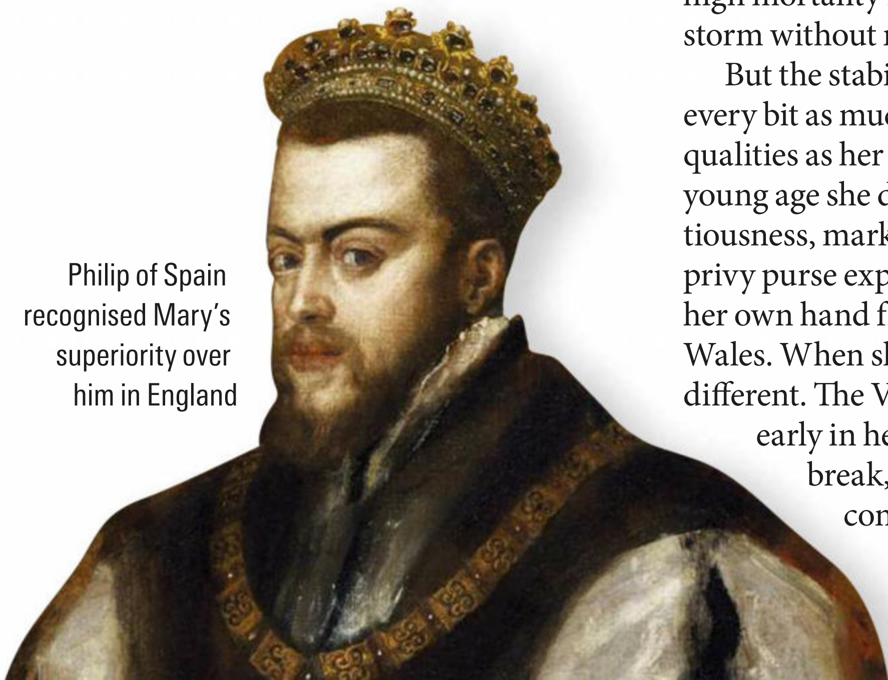
Another charge directed at Mary and Philip's marriage is that it effectively turned England into a vassal state of a foreign power. This, too, ignores the evidence. Philip respected Mary's superiority over him in England and had no intention of subverting the constitution or the law of the land. He demonstrated this in a letter to his father in November 1554, in which he declared that: "I am anxious to show the whole world by my actions that I am not trying to acquire other peoples' states, and your Majesty I would convince of this not by my actions alone, but by my very thoughts."

If Philip and Mary had produced an heir, a dynastic inheritance uniting England and the Low Countries would have created a northern European powerhouse to eclipse France and perhaps even Spain itself. This is hardly consistent with the idea of a weakened nation falling under the shadow of overweening Spanish power.

In fact, after four years of their co-monarchy, Mary seemed more secure on the throne – and Philip more popular – than ever. A global influenza pandemic hit England in 1557–58, affecting as much as half the population in some parts of the country. Despite the high mortality rate, the regime weathered the storm without major social protest.

But the stability of Mary's regime was every bit as much the result of her personal qualities as her choice of husband. From a young age she demonstrated her conscientiousness, marking the running totals of her privy purse expenses at the top of each page in her own hand from her time as Princess of Wales. When she came to power, it was no different. The Venetian ambassador noted early in her reign that she rose at daybreak, prayed, heard Mass and then conducted business incessantly

Four years into the co-monarchy, Mary was more secure on the throne – and Philip more popular – than ever



Philip of Spain recognised Mary's superiority over him in England

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until after midnight. In 1555 one of her closest collaborators, Reginald Pole, future Archbishop of Canterbury, wrote to Philip that she was spending much of the night dispatching state affairs, despite the costs to her health.

This thirst for hard work helped produce four proclamations addressing the Great Debasement of the coinage, all issued in Mary's first year on the throne. The Muscovy Company – the first English joint-stock company in which the capital remained in use, instead of being repaid after every voyage – also received its royal charter during Mary's reign. It would become a cornerstone of the nation's growth as a force in global trade

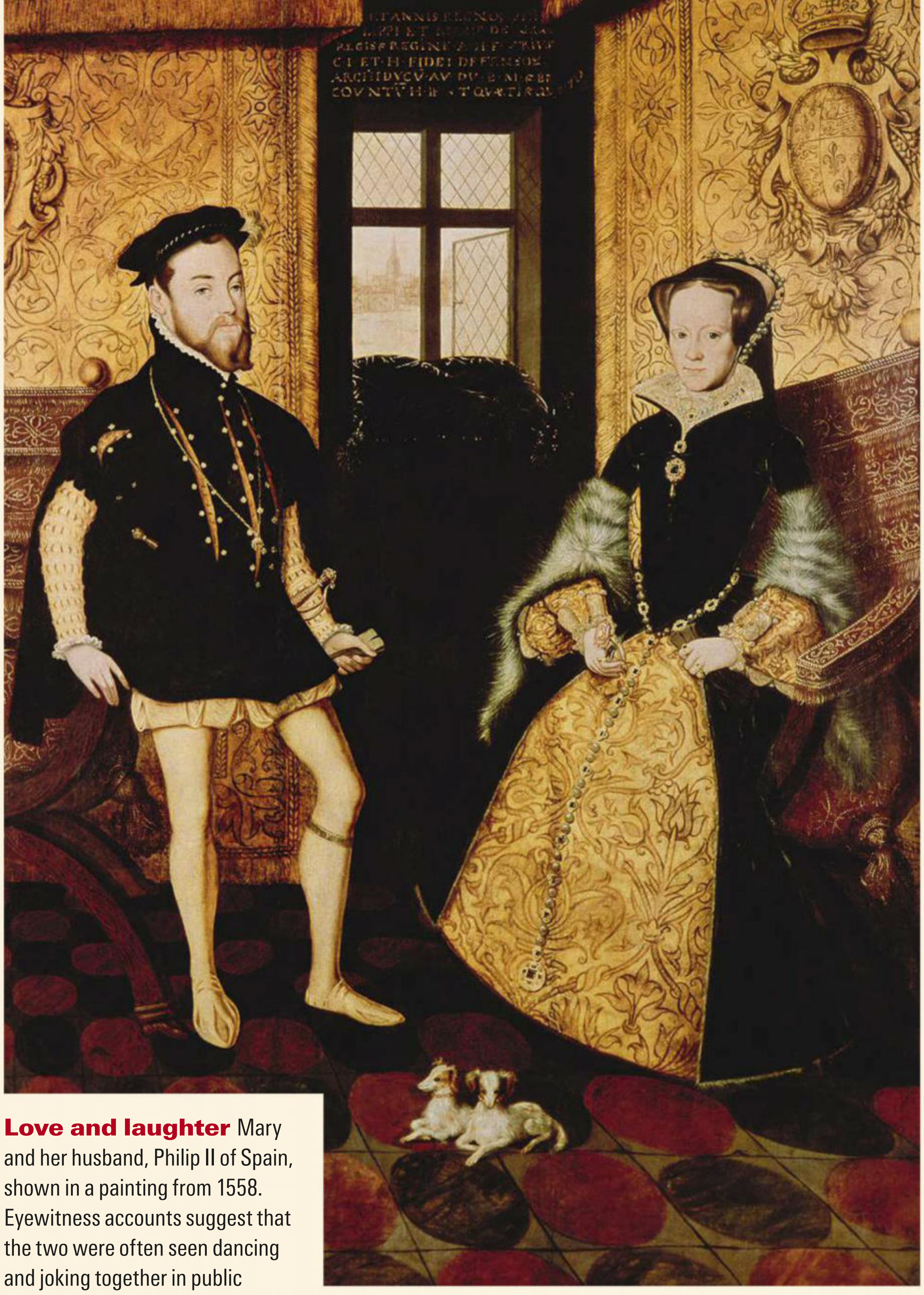
Ultimately, though, Mary's greatest achievement may have been to provide a model for her younger sibling, Elizabeth, to follow. Mary and Elizabeth had a troubled relationship (reaching a low point in 1554, when Mary had Elizabeth imprisoned in the Tower). Yet the older sister set down the statutory foundations of female rule on which the younger sister built, offering a prototype of strong, independent, royal government, and an assiduous and involved monarch, unswayed by the powerful male courtiers who surrounded her.

Female powerhouse

Mary died in 1558, before she could build on her early successes – and her accomplishments have been all but crushed under the weight of negative stereotypes. In fact, if you're searching for a neat emblem of where Mary stands in modern conversations on British rulers, then you need look no further than the current British citizenship test. Her father, Henry VIII, features in 15 per cent of questions on Britain's "long and illustrious" history. As for Mary, she doesn't merit a single mention. What's more, while a street and tube station have been named in her honour in Madrid, not a single major monument pays tribute to the queen in England.

This does her a huge disservice. It's high time that the real Mary I was written back into history; that we celebrated her role in running a highly efficient administration, in broadening England's global horizons, and in setting a precedent for her more fortunate and long-lived sister. For 450 years, confessional differences have had a huge – and detrimental – influence on Mary's reputation. Surely we should now challenge these stereotypes and recognise that Mary wasn't just 'bloody', but also saintly and wise.

Alexander Samson is a reader in early modern studies at University College London. His latest book, *Mary and Philip: the Marriage of Tudor England and Habsburg Spain*, was published by Manchester University Press in January



Love and laughter Mary and her husband, Philip II of Spain, shown in a painting from 1558. Eyewitness accounts suggest that the two were often seen dancing and joking together in public

BRIDGEMAN

A MATCH MADE IN HEAVEN

Philip and Mary's marriage was happy – and effective

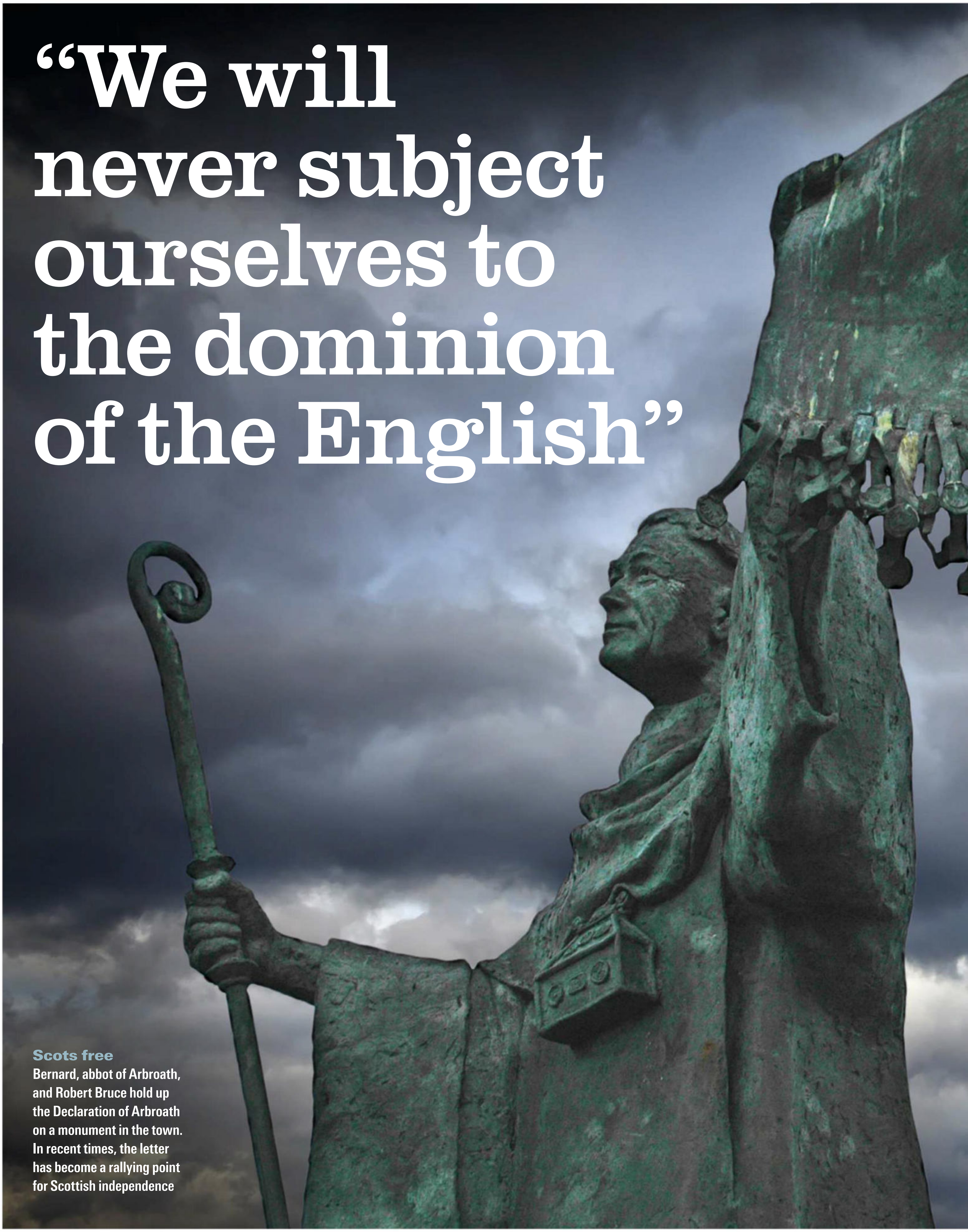
In December 1558, a matter of days after Mary's death at the age of 42, Philip II of Spain wrote to his sister Juana, telling her that he felt his wife's loss deeply. While perhaps not a gushing testament to love, it is far from the picture of indifference between the royal couple often painted by history.

The widespread image of the marriage as a mismatch – one in which passion was entirely absent on Philip's part – seems to have taken its cue from the poisonous polemics penned by exiled radicals. These embittered enemies of the queen described her as everything from an "old bitch" to someone who "could not draw the slightest spark of affection from her lord".

Eyewitness evidence, however, suggests that Mary and Philip were happy, dancing and laughing together in public. The importance Philip attached to the crown of England can be gauged from him playfully signing himself "I the king" before he'd even set foot in England, and his self-conscious cultivation of his image as king of England. The ship on which Philip sailed in the summer of 1554, *El Espíritu Santo*, was expensively fitted out with wooden panelling, flags, banners and armour displaying the conjoined arms of England and Spain. Meanwhile, the couple's heraldic impresa featured prominently on the first large-scale copper plate engravings depicting the British Isles and Spain.

As for Mary, she almost certainly commissioned the *Queen Mary Atlas* as a gift for her husband Philip. Depicting the Spanish conquistador Francisco Pizarro on campaign in Peru, the atlas reflected how the world had opened up to England in the wake of the queen's marriage to Philip.

“We will never subject ourselves to the dominion of the English”



Scots free
Bernard, abbot of Arbroath, and Robert Bruce hold up the Declaration of Arbroath on a monument in the town. In recent times, the letter has become a rallying point for Scottish independence

The Declaration of Arbroath – sealed 700 years ago – is hailed as a historic cry for Scottish self-determination in the face of English "barbarities". **Michael Brown** explores its origins in Robert Bruce's battles with Edward II and a hostile pope

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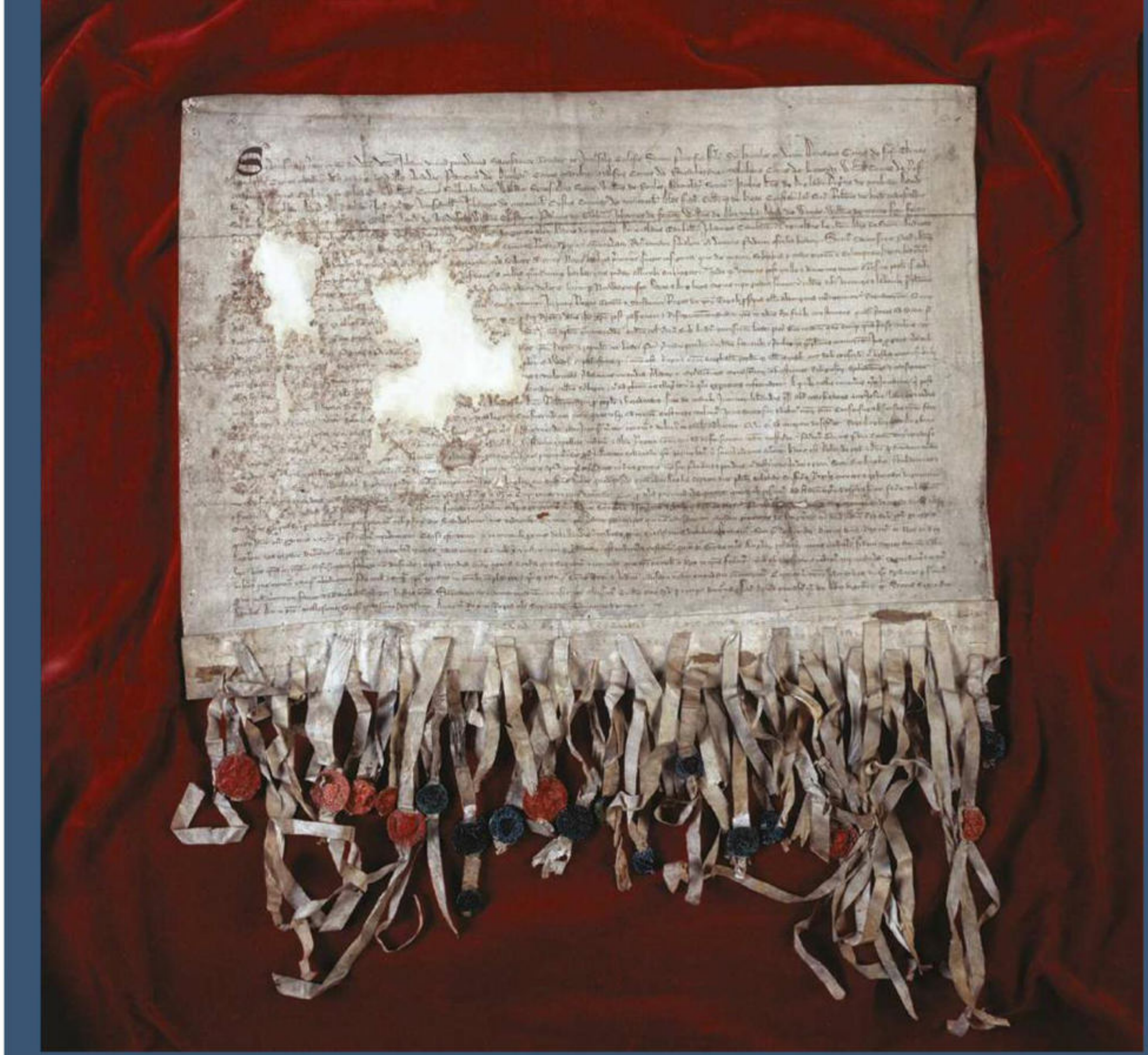
“For so long as 100 of us remain alive, we will never give consent to subject ourselves to the dominion of the English. For it is not glory, it is not riches, neither is it honours that we fight and contend for, but freedom alone, which no honest man will lose except with his life.”



Red letter day The Declaration of Arbroath, sealed by dozens of earls and barons, was sent to Pope John XXII to moderate his hostility as the Scots attempted to resist English aggression

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These words were written 700 years ago in April 1320, but they speak a language of liberty that resonates today. They represent the climax of a letter best-known as the Declaration of Arbroath. It was written on behalf of the barons and community of Scotland to Pope John XXII during the long conflict to secure the sovereignty and rights of their kingdom, known as the Scottish Wars of Independence. Six years after his triumph at Bannockburn, the letter supported the efforts of the Scottish king, Robert Bruce, to secure recognition in his ongoing fight with the English crown, now represented by Edward II.

In just over a thousand words the declaration articulated Scotland’s cause, its ancient pedigree as a European nation and a Christian land, and its endurance through “innumerable oppressions” and “barbarities” inflicted by English king Edward I (father of Edward II). It insisted the Scots were not simply fighting as subjects of a monarch. Although the declaration held up King Robert as the leader who had delivered his people “from the enemy’s hand”, it asserted that, should he “consent that we be subjected to the king or people of England, we will… expel him as our enemy… and make another king who will defend our liberties”. In these terms, Scotland’s struggle was for “freedom alone”, and would be upheld even in the teeth of their own ruler.

The power of these words and the ideas behind them underpin the modern fascination with the Declaration of Arbroath. Comparisons have been made between the declaration and Magna Carta, produced in England a century earlier in the struggle between King John and his English subjects. Both texts were written during conflicts in which the freedoms and status of communities were threatened by tyrannical rulers, internal or external. Both asserted the rights of subjects to resist misrule, and even to restrain or overthrow kings who failed to sustain their liberties. However, the declaration was very different from Magna Carta. It was not a detailed statement of legal rights but a piece of rhetoric. Rather than compelling the king to accept a series of specific limitations on his authority, the declaration was designed to persuade an external figure, the pope, of the justice of the Scottish cause.

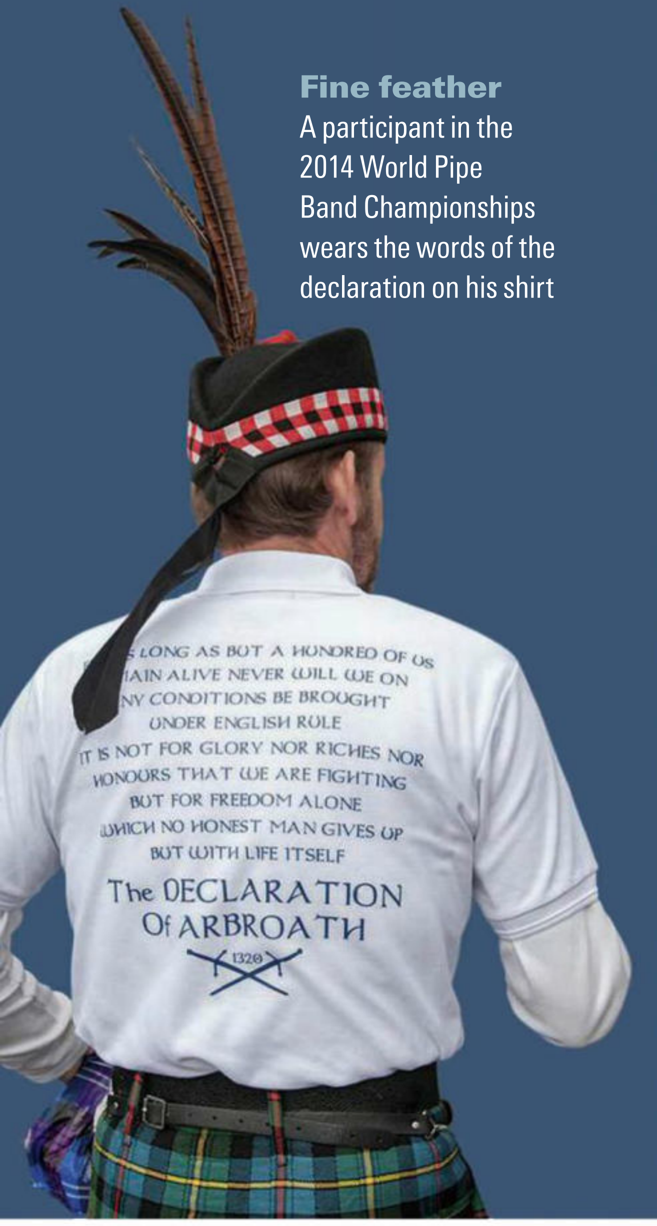
Moreover, while Magna Carta, in a curtailed form, rapidly became regarded as a touchstone of good law in English politics, the Declaration of Arbroath had no parallel significance for later generations of Scots. A contemporary copy was preserved but the declaration was primarily known from its inclusion, along with other diplomatic material from the struggle with England, in late medieval Scottish chronicles. It was only in 1680, 360 years after its composition, that the declaration was lifted from these and printed, bringing it to wider notice. Its language and ideas excited theorists and pamphleteers looking for historical evidence for ancient constitutions. The declaration was employed to justify the deposition of James VII of Scotland (II of England) in 1688–89, and during the next century was absorbed into arguments about Britain’s liberties and constitution evolving from a tradition of resistance to tyrannical monarchs.

A symbol of Scottish identity

Yet with its rejection of English rule, the declaration never sat comfortably within this British framework. As movements to secure home rule or independence for Scotland developed in the 20th century, it became increasingly identified as a text which proclaimed the country’s right to self-determination. The name given to the text reflected this. Often described as a “letter” or “manifesto” before 1900, from the 1920s the titles “Declaration of Arbroath” or even “the Scottish Declaration of Independence” were preferred, reflecting its importance to contemporary politics. By the 1960s, when thoughts were turning to the 650th anniversary, the declaration was seen as a potent and widely recognised symbol of Scotland’s historical independence.

Questions over the commemoration of the anniversary were a political hot potato. Officials advised that “in view of the great effort nationalists will put forth to make the celebrations a rallying point, we should seek perhaps to make our offerings seem adequate, but not excessive”. The issuing of a commemorative stamp, which represented the main official response to the occasion, seems to have avoided accusations of excess.

Even in the 50 years since 1970, the significance of the declaration has shifted. Although Scottish politics has moved onto more contemporary ground, the Declaration of Arbroath has retained its importance in popular consciousness as a symbol of Scottish identity and as a statement of popular rights. The 6th April, the date of the declaration, was adopted as Tartan Day by the US Senate in 1998 as a means of celebrating Scotland’s contribution to North America. Furthermore, in 2016 the Declaration of Arbroath was added to the Unesco Memory of the World register, which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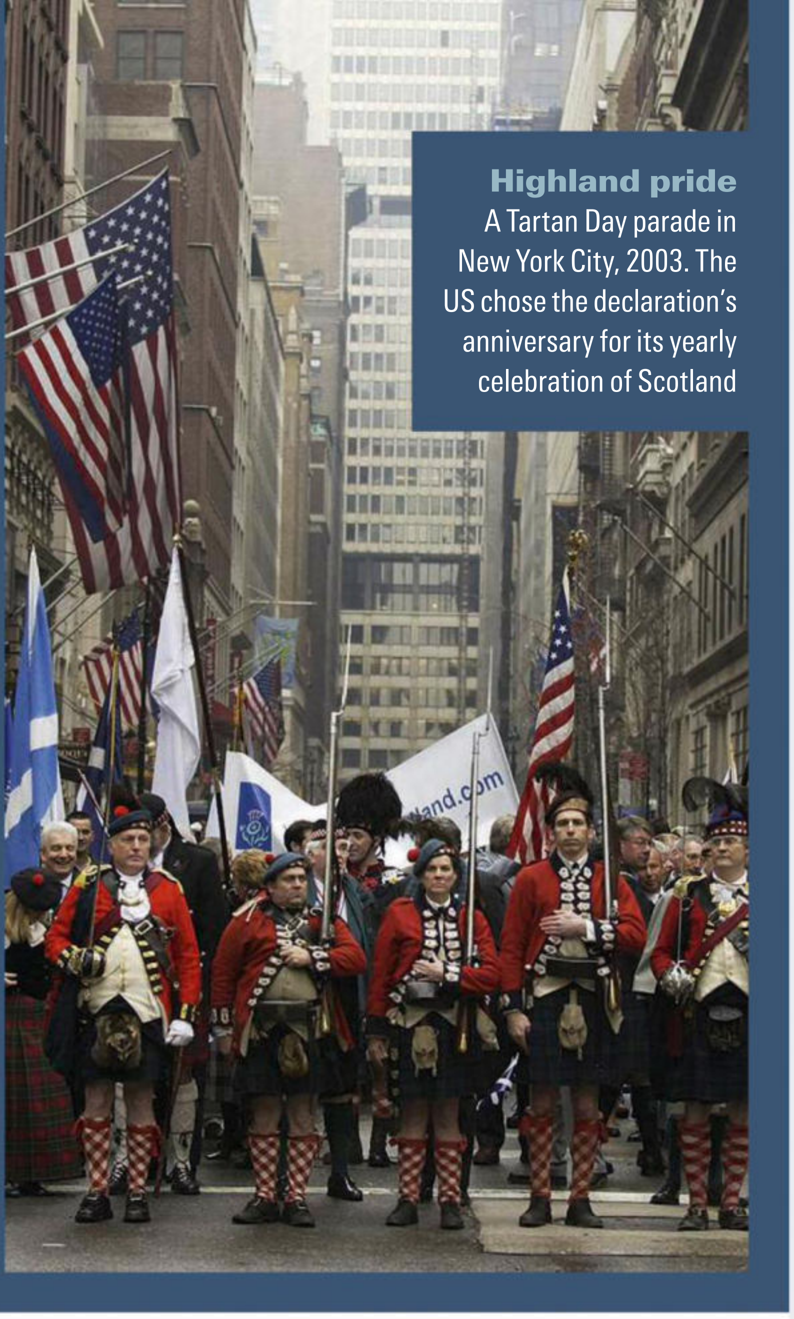
BUT WITH LIFE ITSELF
The DECLARATION
Of ARBROATH
1320

Fine feather
A participant in the 2014 World Pipe Band Championships wears the words of the declaration on his shirt



Highland pride
A Tartan Day parade in New York City, 2003. The US chose the declaration's anniversary for its yearly celebration of Scotland

cited the "universal value" of the text.

As a medieval document able to inspire modern readers, the Declaration of Arbroath is remarkable. It was not, however, a declaration of independence. It was not a unique, standalone statement of the rights of the Scottish people. What it *was* was a skilfully composed and targeted diplomatic weapon, created for a specific goal in very specific circumstances. To understand the text is to understand these circumstances.

An embattled king

In the spring of 1320, Robert Bruce had been King of Scots for 14 years. He had spent all of this period fighting to secure his royal title against numerous enemies. These enemies were led by the kings of England, whose efforts to bring Scotland into their realm had started the wars 25 years before. However, they also included many Scottish lords who saw Robert as a traitor and criminal (see box, right). In late June 1314, Bruce had won his great victory at Bannockburn. His army had out-thought and out-fought the host of King Edward II of England. The victory won Robert control of Scotland and was taken by many as proof of God's support for his claim to be king. Bannockburn did not, however, win the war. Edward II would not recognise Robert Bruce as King of Scots. To force his hand, Robert's armies invaded northern England and Edward's Irish lordship. Despite successes, Robert was no nearer compelling the English to make peace, and in October 1318 the Scottish army in Ireland was wiped out at Faughart near Dundalk.

In this disaster Robert's last surviving brother, Edward Bruce, king of Ireland, was killed. Edward was the designated heir to Scotland. His death meant the next in line was Robert's infant grandson, Robert Stewart. The shakiness of the dynasty and the continuation of the gruelling war left King Robert still insecure and embattled nearly six years after Bannockburn. His vulnerability was heightened by the growing hostility of the papacy. Though Scottish churchmen had been powerful advocates for Scotland's sovereignty, and previous popes had criticised English actions, Bruce's relations with the papacy were tense, and from 1317 Robert faced the increasing antagonism of Pope John XXII.

The pope's goal was to end the wars between Christian rulers and to unite them

It was not a declaration of independence. It was, however, a skilfully composed and targeted diplomatic weapon

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ROBERT BRUCE, KILLER KING

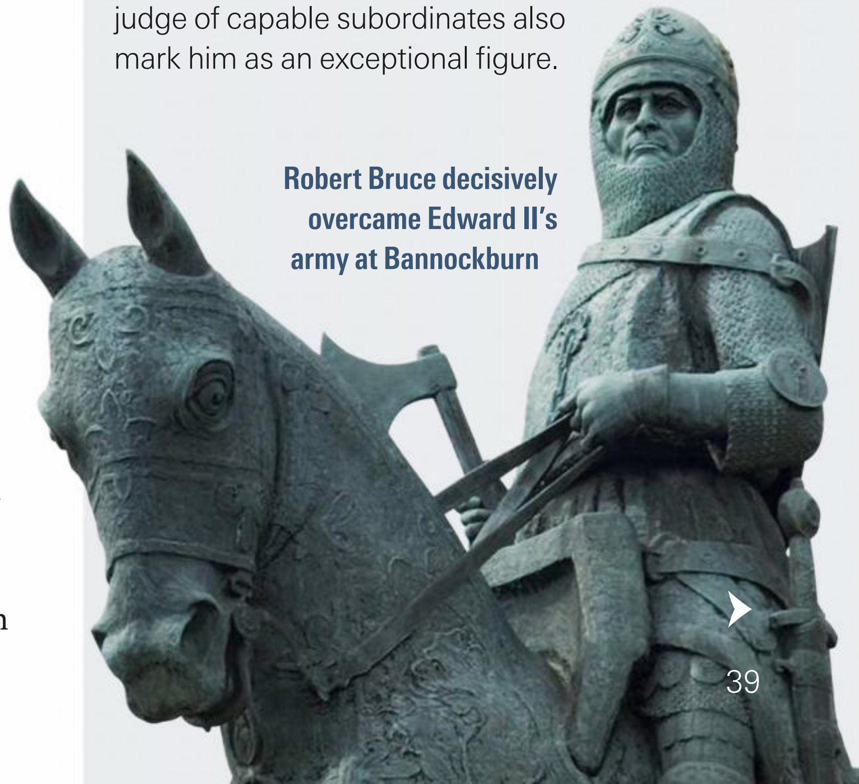
He's revered today, but in the 14th century some saw Bruce as a murdering traitor

Within 50 years of his death, Robert Bruce (1274–1329) was already acclaimed by Scots as the saviour of his country, having bravely overcome defeats to emerge victorious. In his own lifetime, however, **he was a divisive figure**. To his enemies – Scots and English – he was a traitor and murderer.

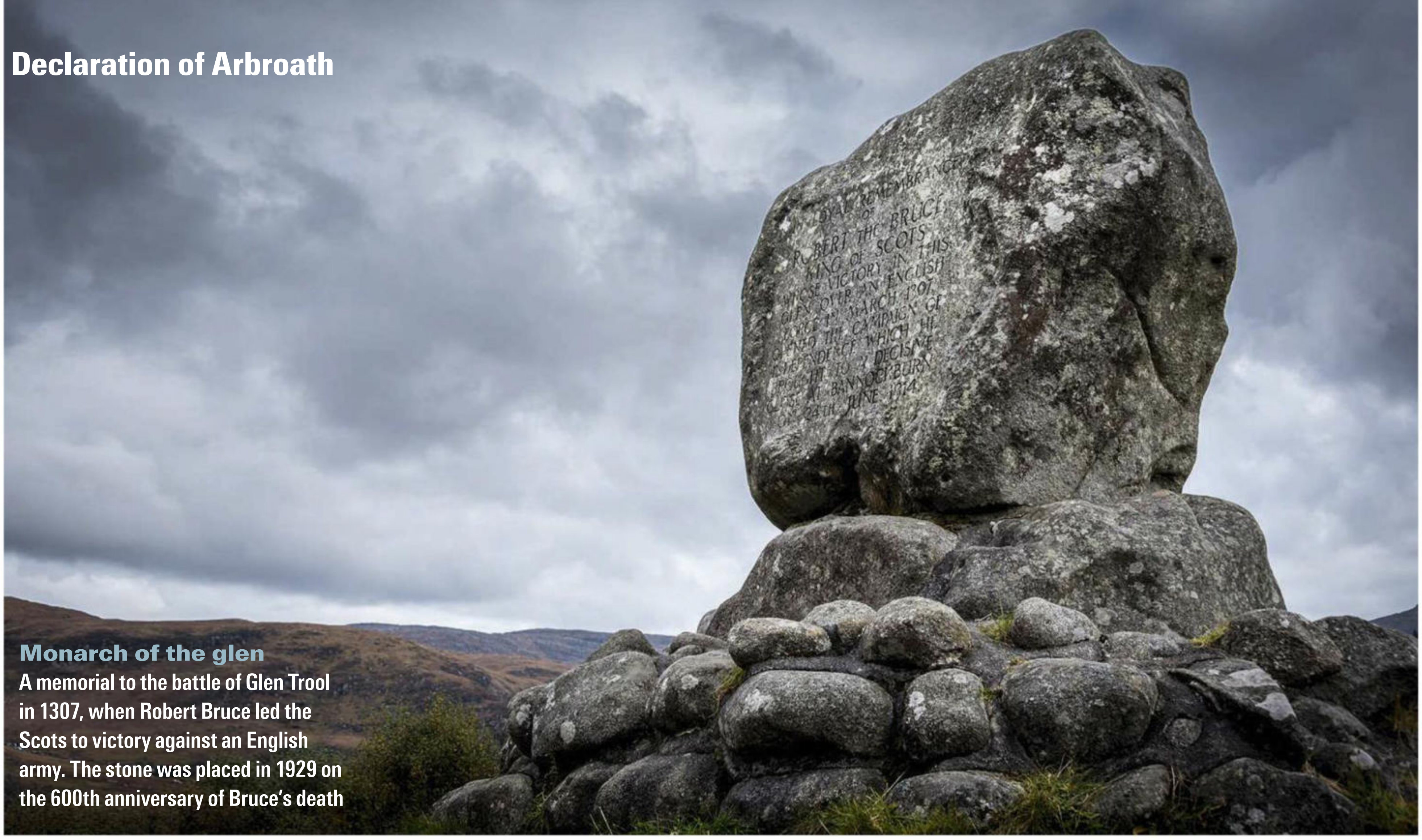
In 1306, Robert stood at a crossroads. Scotland had been conquered by Edward I of England after eight years of war. During these years, Bruce had shifted between the two sides, but still nurtured hopes of pursuing his family's claim to Scotland's throne. Shedding his previous caution, he made his move. In a meeting in a church at Dumfries on 10 February, **Bruce stabbed his main Scottish rival, John Comyn**. Six weeks later, he was crowned king at Scone. His action united the English king with Comyn's allies, and during the summer Robert was chased into exile, while his family and supporters suffered death or captivity.

Robert's legend rested on his return to south-west Scotland in early 1307. For eight months, he survived as the hunted leader of a small band. Then, as winter came on, he marched through the Highlands to **defeat his main Scottish enemies in the north**. Using this region as his base and exploiting the incompetence of the new English king, Edward II, Robert extended his control across Scotland. In summer 1314, in a final bid to retain his father's conquest, Edward II led an army to Stirling. By the Bannock Burn (ie stream), Robert **decisively defeated the English force**. While it did not end the war, Bannockburn completed Robert's seizure of Scotland. The victory allowed him to cement his authority over the realm.

Alongside his skills as a military leader, Robert's abilities as a ruler and as a judge of capable subordinates also mark him as an exceptional figure.



Robert Bruce decisively overcame Edward II's army at Bannockburn



Monarch of the glen
A memorial to the battle of Glen Trool in 1307, when Robert Bruce led the Scots to victory against an English army. The stone was placed in 1929 on the 600th anniversary of Bruce's death

GETTY IMAGES

This was no defensive or apologetic text. Having stated their cause, the letter's authors questioned the pope's position

in a common cause to recover the Holy Land, which had been lost three decades earlier. To achieve this, John sent cardinals to proclaim a truce between England and Scotland. While Edward II accepted it, Robert did not.

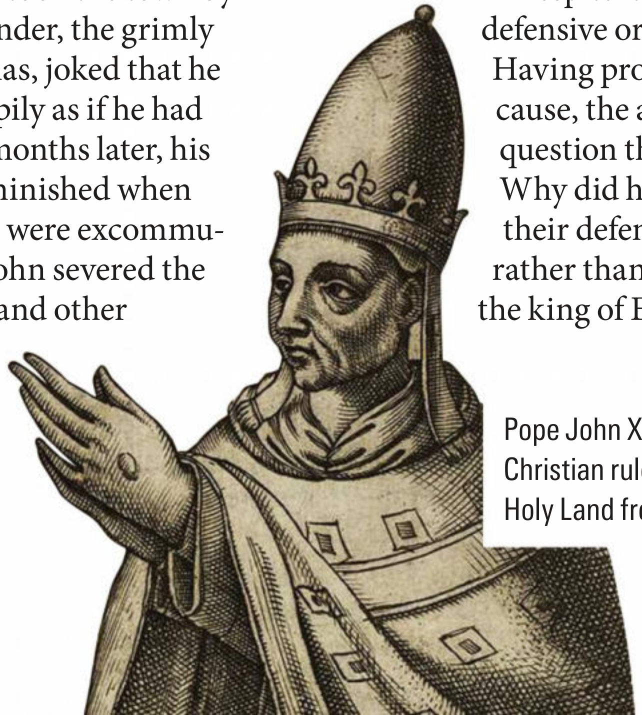
As the papal letters did not address him as king, Robert refused to open them. Intent on the capture of Berwick on the English border, he would not let the English off the hook, and on 1 April 1318 his men took the town by stealth. Bruce's commander, the grimly humorous James Douglas, joked that he entered Berwick as happily as if he had entered paradise. Two months later, his chances of paradise diminished when Douglas and his master were excommunicated by Pope John. John severed the links between the king and other Christians, and also suspended the duties of the clergy in Scotland through an interdict. These moves were a threat to a ruler who, despite his military successes, could not be certain of the loyalty of his subjects.

Small country, big ideas

The need to moderate the pope's hostility prompted a concerted response. Having finally agreed a truce with England, in spring 1320 Robert dispatched a mission to the papal court. His emissaries carried letters probably from the king and clergy, and one from the barons and community of the realm. This last letter was the Declaration of Arbroath. (Although the letter cited Arbroath as the place from which it was issued, it had probably been crafted elsewhere in the royal chancery.)

It was a text with a very specific purpose. It laid out the justice of the Scottish cause to a hostile audience. It also demonstrated that it was not Robert's individual ambition that lay behind the struggle but the will of the Scottish people, who would continue to fight for their liberties even if Robert abandoned them. This goal underpinned the passage that captured the attention of modern readers, but it was not the culmination of the letter.

Despite its aims, this was no defensive or apologetic text. Having proclaimed their own cause, the authors proceeded to question the pope's position. Why did he chastise the Scots for their defence of their liberties rather than "admonish and exhort the king of England who ought to be satisfied with what he has… and leave us in peace"? If Pope John's stubborn attitude to Scotland persisted it would leave Christendom exposed to daily attacks and "tarnish the memory of your holiness".



Pope John XXII wanted to unite Christian rulers and regain the Holy Land from the Muslims

Did the declaration achieve its goal? There was no reversal of papal policy, but the sentences on Bruce and his kingdom were suspended and Robert's royal title was employed in papal correspondence.

As a diplomatic device written by Bernard, abbot of Arbroath, and a group of clerks in the king's chancery – and drawing on classical texts and historical precedents – the declaration can seem mundane. However, this context should not diminish the letter. Produced at a moment of real crisis, it contains a daring argument being articulated via powerful language.

Both the argument and language speak beyond the events of 1320. Even if it was not meant as a template for popular sovereignty when it was written, it did express the idea that the cause was not simply about the claims and ambitions of rival rulers. The authors saw the struggle as something bigger and more universal. Though they spoke in the declaration of the threat to "poor little Scotland", they were confident that, from a small country, big ideas could emerge. H

Michael Brown is professor of Scottish history at the University of St Andrews. He is the author of *The Wars of Scotland, 1214–1371* (Edinburgh, 2004)

LISTEN To listen to the episode of BBC Radio 4's **Making History** that covered the Declaration of Arbroath, go to *bbc.co.uk/programmes/b01qdvlt*

Ian Fleming's licence to steal

With the new Bond film soon to arrive in cinemas, **Henry Hemming** introduces the real-life inspirations behind the lead characters in Ian Fleming's staggeringly successful spy series ›

CLOCKWISE FROM BOTTOM LEFT: Naomie Harris and Daniel Craig as Moneypenny and James Bond in *Skyfall*; Charles Gray plays Blofeld; Roger Moore in *Live and Let Die*; Sean Connery in *Goldfinger*; an image from James Bond's field guide on birds; a dagger issued to SOE agents; Bond creator Ian Fleming; the architect Erno Goldfinger

Some authors spend years on their first novel. Ian Fleming's came in a matter of weeks. In January 1952, the middle-aged British journalist was enjoying a little winter's sun on holiday in the Caribbean. One morning, after a swim and his usual breakfast of scrambled eggs and coffee, Fleming sat down to his battered Royal typewriter and hammered out the opening line of *Casino Royale*. Barely a month later, he had finished. James Bond had come to life.

Fleming went on to write a further 13 Bond novels, which have since sold more than 100 million copies globally. Big-screen adaptations have generated more than £5bn at the box office, making the Bond film franchise one of the most successful in history.

Bond is a phenomenon. It is rare to find a fictional character so intricately woven into one country's self-image, and at the same time so hugely popular around the world. Diehard fans have ranged from the US president John F Kennedy to the North Korean despot Kim Jong-il.

Bond's extraordinary popularity is rooted in the world – and the characters – Fleming created: Bond himself, along with 'M', Miss Moneypenny and a rogues' gallery of villains, including Scaramanga, Goldfinger and Blofeld. But these characters were not pulled out of thin air. They are an amalgam of traits that Fleming stole from a colourful cast of personalities he encountered in his own life. "Everything I write has a precedent in truth," Fleming wrote. So who were the real people behind his most celebrated literary creations?

PREVIOUS PAGE: ALAMY/SHUTTERSTOCK/GETTY IMAGES

James Bond

How a respected birdwatcher became the spy world's "ultimate prostitute"

Fleming was a man of many interests, including birdwatching. That's why he had on his bookshelf at Goldeneye, his Jamaican retreat, a well-thumbed copy of *Birds of the West Indies* (shown below), a field guide written by the respected American ornithologist James Bond.

Fleming later acknowledged this real-life Bond as the source of his celebrated protagonist's name. But he did not choose it on a whim. Fleming wanted a name that was straightforward and trustworthy, and would reveal as little as possible about his character's background. There may have also been an espionage inside-joke: 'birdwatcher' at the time was slang for spy. Many years later, the producers of *Die Another Day* (2002) made a knowing reference to this: when Bond, played by Pierce Brosnan, disguises himself as a birdwatcher, he buries himself in a copy of the original James Bond's guide to West Indian birds.

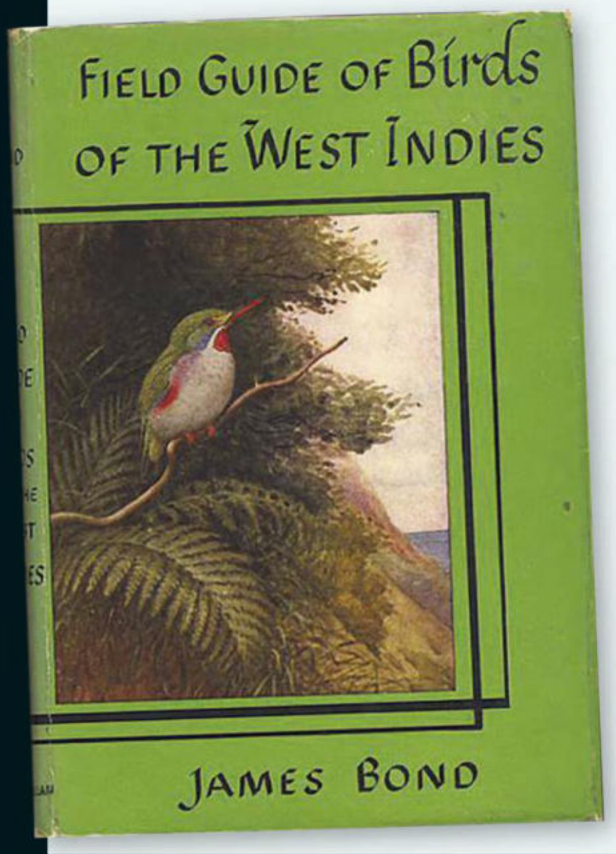
Name aside, these two Bonds had almost nothing in common. The physical appearance of Fleming's Bond was largely modelled on his creator. Both Fleming and Bond had blue eyes, dark hair and a "cruel mouth". As the author admitted, however, his literary creation was much better looking.

Just as Fleming went to Eton, left early, was fatherless for most of his life, and during the war achieved the rank of acting commander in the Royal Naval Volunteer Reserve, so did Bond. Fleming had a love of women, fast cars, gambling and martinis – as long as they were made the right way – and for some people possessed a certain coldness or reserve; again, characteristics all ascribed to Bond.

At the same time, Fleming and Bond were very different. While the author spent most of the Second World War behind a desk, his creation was a man of action. "Bond is not in fact a hero," Fleming explained, "but an efficient and not very attractive blunt instrument in the hands of government," and "a meld of various qualities I noted among secret service men and commandos in the last war." Much of Bond's rugged adventurousness can be traced back to Fleming's wartime encounters with intrepid soldiers and spies, including the guerrillas of 30 Assault Unit, the maverick commando group he had helped to create and run.

Some of those who may have directly inspired Bond's character include Patrick Dalzel-Job, a fearless member of 30 Assault Unit; Fleming's dashing brother Peter, who took part in covert wartime operations; and the British spy and expert skier Conrad O'Brien-ffrench, who befriended Fleming in Austria before the war.

The soldier, writer and politician Sir Fitzroy Maclean (one-time member of the SAS) and Wilfred Dunderdale, the MI6 head



Ian Fleming had a love of women, fast cars, gambling and gin martinis – just like Bond

Possible Bond model Patrick Dalzel-Job, a member of Fleming's wartime commando unit, with his wife Bjørg

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of station in Paris during the early part of the war, have also been put forward as possible real-life Bonds. Fleming later described Sir William Stephenson, MI6 head of station in New York, as not so much a direct model for Bond, who was "a highly romanticised version of the true spy", but "the real thing".

Most revealing here, perhaps, is the sheer number of people thought to have inspired the character of James Bond. Fleming made a point in his books of revealing as little as possible about the personality and background of his protagonist. The great spy writer John le Carré described Bond as "the ultimate prostitute", in the sense that his appeal was rooted in readers never knowing too much about him, and instead being able to project their own fantasies and desires onto him, until they feel as if on one level they *are* him. This might explain why there is always such heated debate about which actor should next play Bond. We need it to be someone in whom we can see a part of ourselves – which is testament, ultimately, to Fleming's achievement as a writer.

M

Authentic spymaster or family matriarch?

At first, the inspiration for M – the spy chief and Bond's boss – appears to be straightforward. During the war, Fleming served as an aide to the director of Naval Intelligence, Admiral John Godfrey. His role involved coming up with bold deception plans, and this was the first job at which Fleming excelled, partly because he was able to put his imagination to good use, but also because he developed a good relationship with his curmudgeonly superior.

In demeanour, Godfrey was identical to M. Even the door to Godfrey's house matches Fleming's description of M's door with its brass bell from a ship instead of a doorbell. The relationship between Bond and his boss is also similar to how Godfrey and Fleming collaborated.

Why did Fleming call this character M? Naturally, he wanted Bond's boss to sound like an authentic spymaster. The head of the agency for which Bond nominally worked, the Secret Intelligence Service (SIS) – popularly known as MI6 – was called 'C'. But as MI6 still did not officially exist, giving him this name might have resulted in a stern message from the Treasury solicitor.

Instead, Fleming went for another letter of the alphabet. He was possibly inspired by Major-General Sir Colin Gubbins, a leading figure in the Special Operations Executive, who signed his letters 'M'. But more likely this was a nod to the best-known M in the secret service at that time: the MI5 spymaster Maxwell Knight. Since 1931, Knight had called himself 'M' while running his own 'M Section' and giving his agents codenames starting with the prefix 'M'.

Yet there may have been another explanation. In 1917, when Fleming was still a child, his much-loved father was killed on the western front. Valentine Fleming had always been known to his children as 'Mokie', and some have suggested that M may be a veiled reference to him.

But could M have referred to someone else in the family? Ian's mother, Evelyn Fleming – a strong presence in his life – was often known to her children as 'M'. As he struggled to find a school or job that suited him, she was the one who moved him from one institution or office to another. During the 1920s and 1930s, Evelyn arranged a string of new placements and jobs for her beloved second son, many involving overseas travel, and it is easy to imagine each one resembling a fresh mission in the future author's eyes.

M for mummy? Bond author Ian Fleming with his mother, Evelyn St Croix Fleming, in 1957

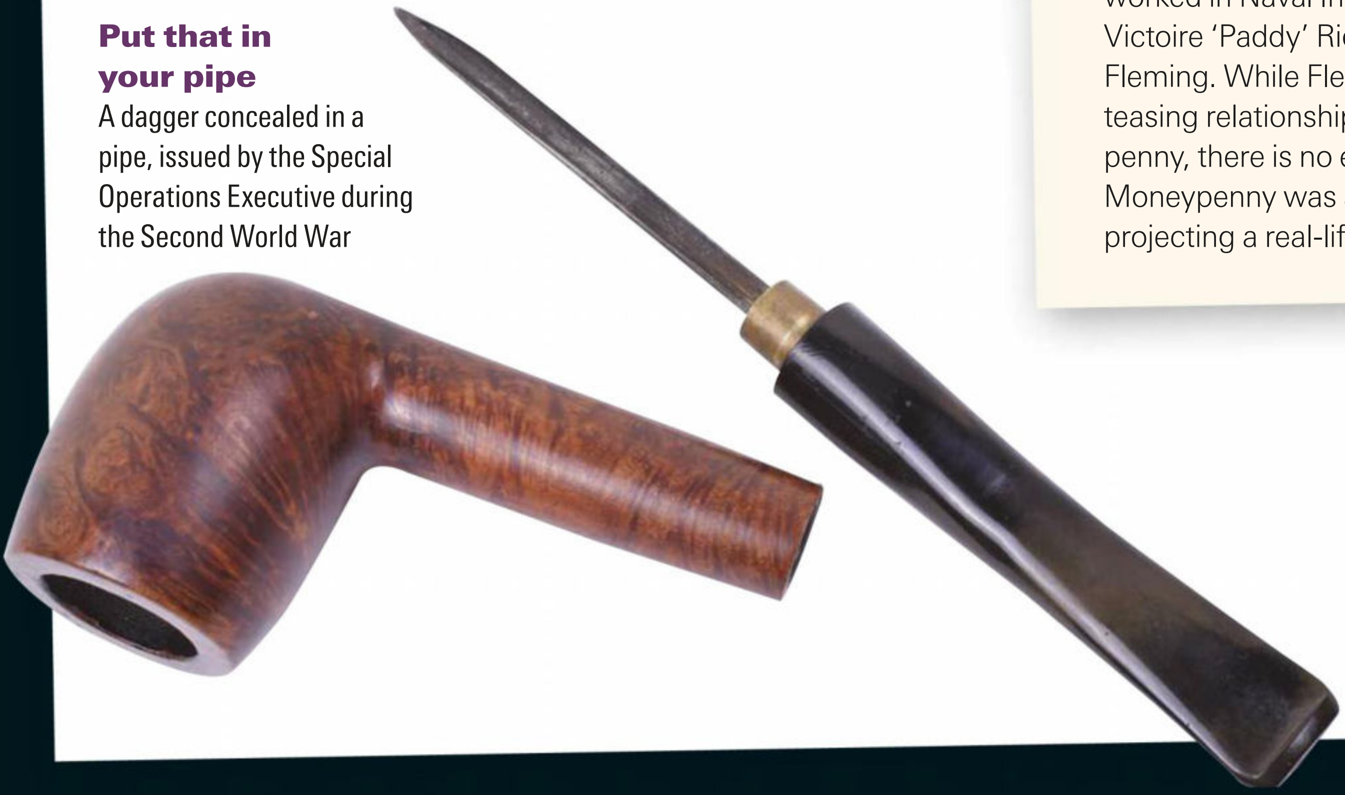
Q

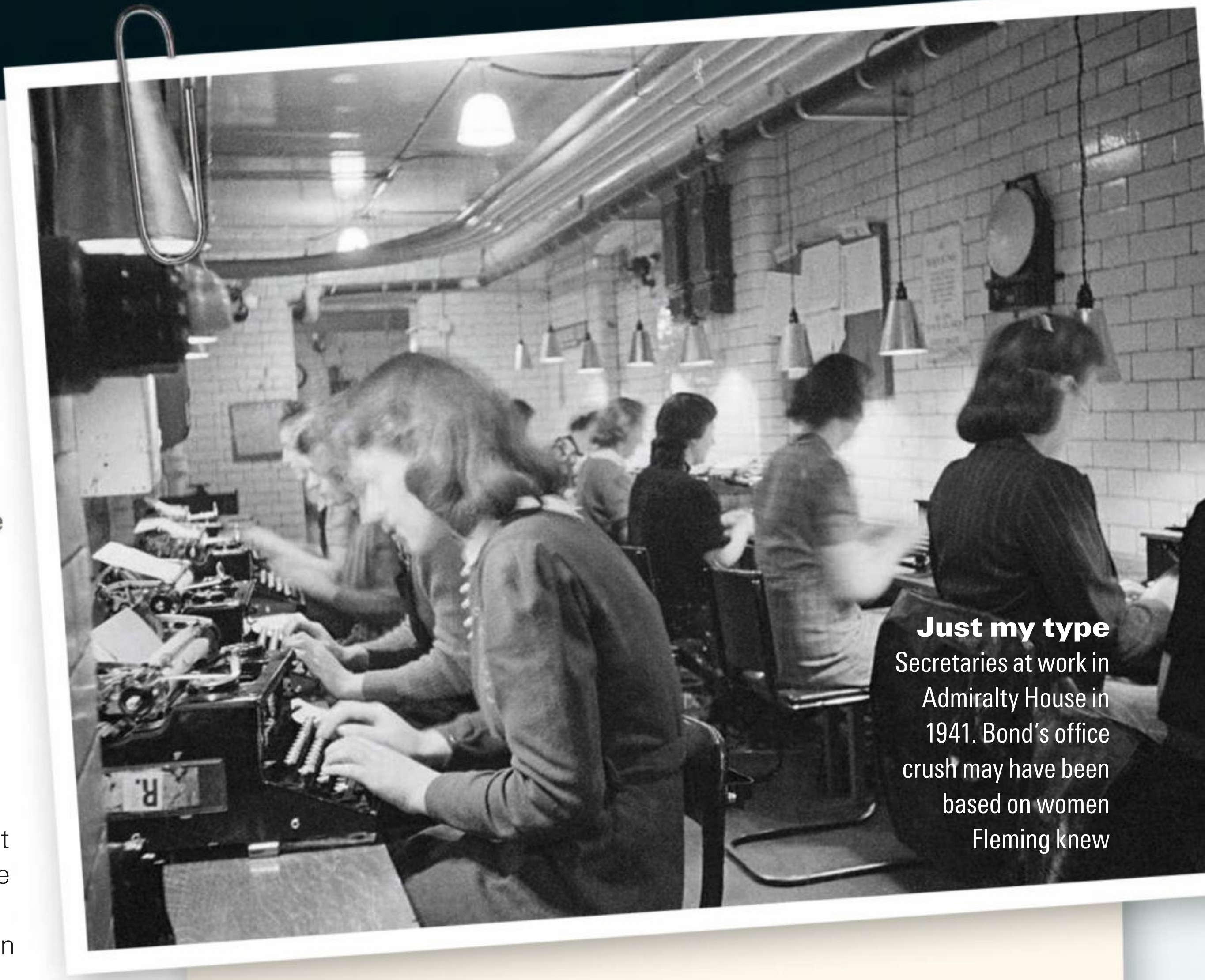
The lethal origins of a lovable eccentric

A fact well-known to Bondologists (less so to everyone else) is that the lovably eccentric quartermaster Q – responsible for everything from exploding tubes of toothpaste to a machine gun disguised as a set of bagpipes – never actually appeared in any of Fleming's books. However, the novels *did* feature a 'Q Branch', and this, we know, was copied directly from real life. During the Second World War, undercover British agents bound for occupied Europe – including some of those in Fleming's 30 Assault Unit – would pay a visit to Q (short for Quartermaster) Branch, where they were often kitted out with devices known as 'Q gadgets'. Usually these were everyday objects adapted to contain some kind of tool or weapon, such as golf balls containing compasses; pencils hollowed out to hide silk maps; hairbrushes with saws inside; garlic-flavoured chocolate for British agents heading to France (in the hope that the smell on their breath would allow them to blend in more easily with the local population); and a shoelace that doubled up as a garotte.

The enterprising figure behind the real Q Branch was Charles Fraser-Smith. Before the war, Fraser-Smith had been a missionary in Morocco, where he and his wife ran a farm and an orphanage in the foothills of the Atlas mountains. Soon after the outbreak of war, Fraser-Smith took a job at the Ministry of Supply, where his main task was to source clothes for undercover agents travelling to Europe. But he also devised his ingenious 'Q gadgets', and soon had several hundred specialist companies across London. It was at this point that he met a fellow civil servant called Ian Fleming.

Put that in your pipe
A dagger concealed in a pipe, issued by the Special Operations Executive during the Second World War





Just my type
Secretaries at work in Admiralty House in 1941. Bond's office crush may have been based on women Fleming knew

Miss Moneypenny

From unrequited crush to longest flirtation in history

She may have had no more than a minor role in Fleming's books, but after Bond himself, Miss Moneypenny is probably the most recognisable character in Fleming's world. Appearing in every film bar two certainly helps, as does having an unforgettable name – not to mention being one half of the longest-running flirtation in film history.

The most likely model for Miss Moneypenny was Kathleen Pettigrew, secretary to C, the head of MI6, when Fleming worked in Naval Intelligence. Another possible source was Victoire 'Paddy' Ridsdale, who worked in the same office as Fleming. While Fleming might have wanted to have the same teasing relationship with both women as Bond did with Moneypenny, there is no evidence that he achieved it. Instead, it seems Moneypenny was a (hugely successful) example of the author projecting a real-life fantasy into fiction.

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MORE FROM US

Henry Hemming will be discussing James Bond's real-life inspirations on our **podcast**.
historyextra.com/podcast

The villains

How Fleming got back at the bad guys

If Bond, Q, M and Moneypenny were composites of people Fleming had encountered in real life, so too were his villains. But in this case, the emotion firing the author's imagination wasn't so much admiration as a thirst for revenge. This certainly appears to have been the case in the creation of Ernst Blofeld and Francisco Scaramanga – the former, Bond's nemesis in no fewer than nine films (including *No Time to Die*); the latter, the brilliant assassin in 1974's *The Man With the Golden Gun*.

So why the names Blofeld and Scaramanga? The most convincing explanation is centred on Fleming's nephew, Nichol Fleming, who told his uncle shortly before Ian began work on the novels that he was being bullied at school by two prefects. One of these bullies was called Blofeld – a relative of the legendary cricket commentator Henry – while the other was called Scaramanga. It turned out that Scaramanga senior had been at school with Fleming, where they had had several fights. Fleming, it seems, decided it was time to get even in print.

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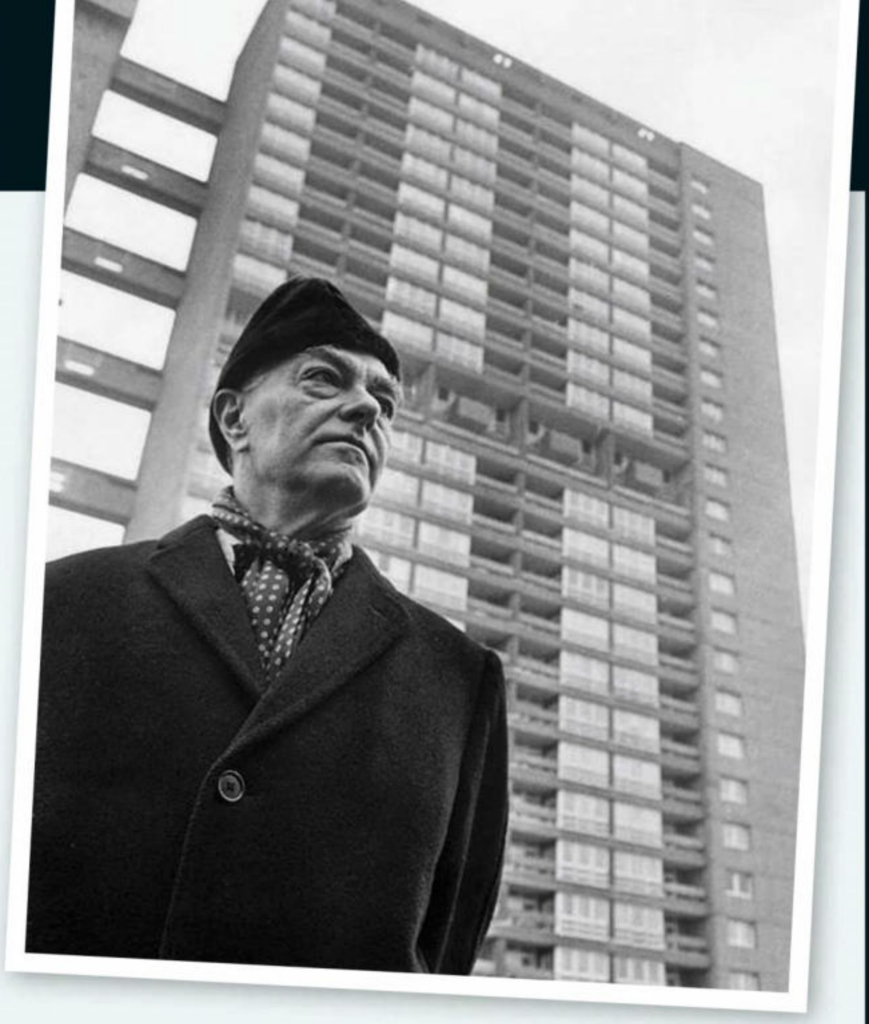


Flat reception Hungarian architect Ernö Goldfinger beside one of his creations in London. Fleming was not a fan of his work

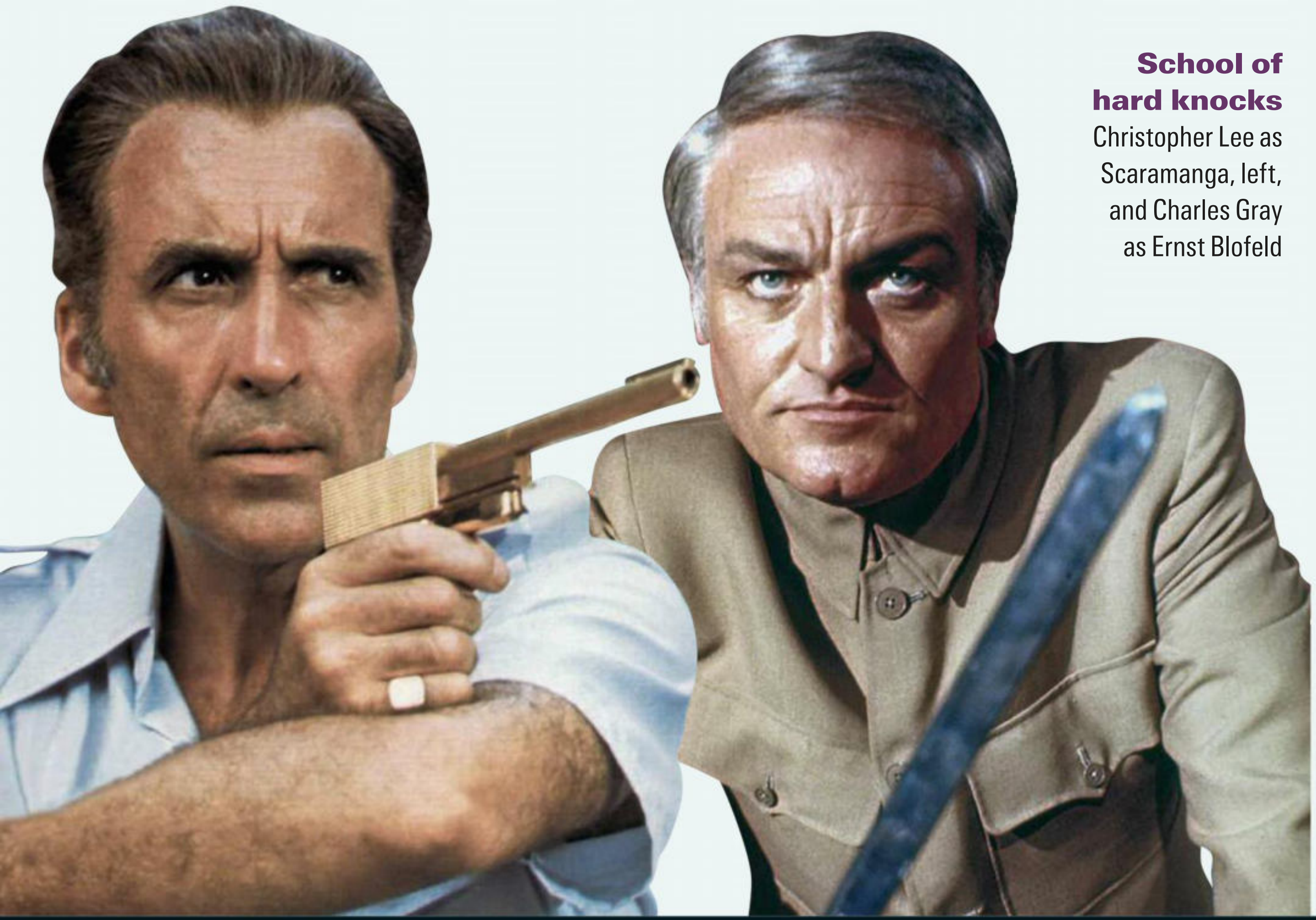
Fleming may also have had revenge in mind (though of a different type) when creating Auric Goldfinger, the gold-smuggling antagonist of the eponymous novel and film (released in 1959 and 1964 respectively). Like many postwar Londoners, Fleming was not fond of the work of Ernö Goldfinger, one of the modernist architects responsible for the efflorescence of tower blocks across the capital. The real-life Goldfinger was furious at the use of his name and tried to halt publication – without success.

During his career as an intelligence officer, Fleming crossed paths with a succession of large-than-life personalities, but surely none were more extravagantly weird than Aleister Crowley. And it was Crowley – sadomasochist, occultist and "wickedest man in the world" – who is thought to have inspired Fleming to create Le Chiffre, the mathematical genius with the blood-weeping eye, who appeared in the first Bond novel, *Casino Royale* (1953) and the 2006 film of the same name.

Fleming's nephew was being bullied by two boys – Blofeld and Scaramanga

Fleming would have known about Crowley anyway, but the occultist came to the author's attention personally after the unexpected arrival in Britain, in 1941, of the senior Nazi Rudolf Hess. As Fleming and others wondered what to do with the German, Crowley – who knew that Hess was fascinated by the occult – offered himself as an interlocutor. Although the idea was not as mad as it sounds, it came to nothing.

Shortly before the Second World War, Fleming met a naval officer with a moniker for the ages: Admiral Sir Reginald Aylmer Ranfurly Plunkett-Ernle-Erle-Drax. It was from this extraordinary collection of titles that the author came up with Hugo Drax, the villain who plotted Bond's downfall in the 1955 novel and 1979 film *Moonraker.* Drax failed, of course, and – as he's been doing since Fleming first brought him to life in 1952 – the world's most celebrated spy lived to die another day. H



School of hard knocks Christopher Lee as Scaramanga, left, and Charles Gray as Ernst Blofeld

Henry Hemming is the author of six works of non fiction, including *M: Maxwell Knight, MI5's Greatest Spymaster* (Preface Publishing, 2017)

WATCH The new James Bond film, **No Time to Die**, is in cinemas from 3 April

READ The cover feature in the April edition of **BBC History Revealed** magazine (on sale 19 March) explores the history of Cold War spies

Christian Frederick Cole

England's first black barrister

Born in rural Sierra Leone in 1852, Cole fought his way to Oxford University and qualified as England's first black barrister. **PAMELA ROBERTS** applauds a singular character who took on some of the west's most entrenched institutions – and won

"Mute astonishment was excited a few days ago in the London Bankruptcy Court, by the appearance there, briefs in hand, with work to do, of a gentleman of colour – of the darkest tint. He was received by all the other members of the bar with the courtesy which might be expected from English gentlemen. His address to the learned recorder, Sir Thomas Chambers, for mercy towards a young offender against the law, showed an unusual command of 'the tongue that Shakespeare spoke', a felicity of expression, good taste and intellectual force." Thus ran a document from 1883 introducing England's first black barrister, Christian Frederick Cole.

Cole was born in the village of Waterloo, in the British colony of Sierra Leone, in 1852. His parents – Jacob, a reverend, and May Cole – were described as "a negro and negress of the purest type". They obtained their son a scholarship to attend the oldest western-style college in sub-Saharan Africa, Fourah Bay College in Freetown, which was known as the 'Athens of west Africa' for its high standards in Latin and Greek.

At Fourah Bay, Cole had a role model in the school's principal, Reverend Edward Jones, who had been the first African-American to graduate from the US's Amherst College. He encouraged Cole to apply for one of the world's most prestigious universities: Oxford. Cole's bid wasn't unprecedented – another Fourah alumnus, Africanus Horton, had become one of the first black graduates from a British university when he'd earned a medical degree from Edinburgh in 1859 – but it was audacious. Nevertheless Cole applied, and was accepted after passing 'Responsions' – exams in Greek, Latin, arithmetic and algebra.

In 1872, Cole's father died, and his uncle assumed his guardianship. Cole arrived in England in 1873 at the height of British colonialism, amid a prevailing iconology that depicted black people as an educationally inferior sub-species. In enrolling at University College – one of Oxford's most venerable colleges – to read for an honours degree in 'classical moderations' (classics), he became the first black African to study at the university.

> " At Oxford he joined the debating society, and his work was applauded by the renowned classicist Jowett "

Cole's degree was deemed one of the most difficult to obtain. The future imperialist Cecil Rhodes, who came up to Oxford in the same year, was rejected by University College when he applied for a pass degree in classics – an easier qualification. He enrolled at Oriel College instead.

Cole was a non-collegiate student – an arrangement that helped poorer students who might struggle to afford college fees. He lodged in rooms in the city, with his uncle providing support for his fees and living expenses.

His presence inevitably attracted comment. One diary entry by Florence Ward, sister of William Ward – best friend of the Irish playwright Oscar Wilde – is telling. Describing a promenade event at Christ Church in June 1876, Florence wrote: "I spied the Nigger Coal [sic], hair as curly and skin as black as Coal." The *Oxford Chronicle*, reporting on the 1878 Encaenia ceremony (an annual celebration of Oxford's founders), noted: "Some amusement was caused by 'Three Cheers for Christian Cole', a gentleman of colour, of University College, who had entered the Theatre a few moments previously and was standing in the area." Fellow student Colonel Thomas Higginbottom reportedly gave him the nickname 'Old King Cole'.

Cole was also an object of curiosity outside the university. An *Oxford Journal* article of 1877, under the heading 'A negro in the parish church', read: "On Saturday last, the lessons in the morning and evening services in the parish Church were read by a negro, Mr Christian F Cole... In the afternoon, Mr Cole delivered an address on mission work in Sierra Leone, west Africa. Afterwards, he spoke to the inmates at the union workhouse on the same topic."

A precarious existence

As a member of the Oxford Union debating society, Cole contested numerous subjects, once arguing in favour of the death penalty. Academically, he was no idler; his essays were commended by no less a figure than Benjamin Jowett of Balliol, a renowned translator of Plato who would later become the university's vice-chancellor. After four years of hard study, Cole achieved his honours degree, thereby becoming a full member of the college in 1877.

By his last year, though, Cole had incurred a significant debt of £200. His uncle, with a family of his own to support, had been forced to cease his remittance. Determined not to lean on his friends for money, Cole looked around

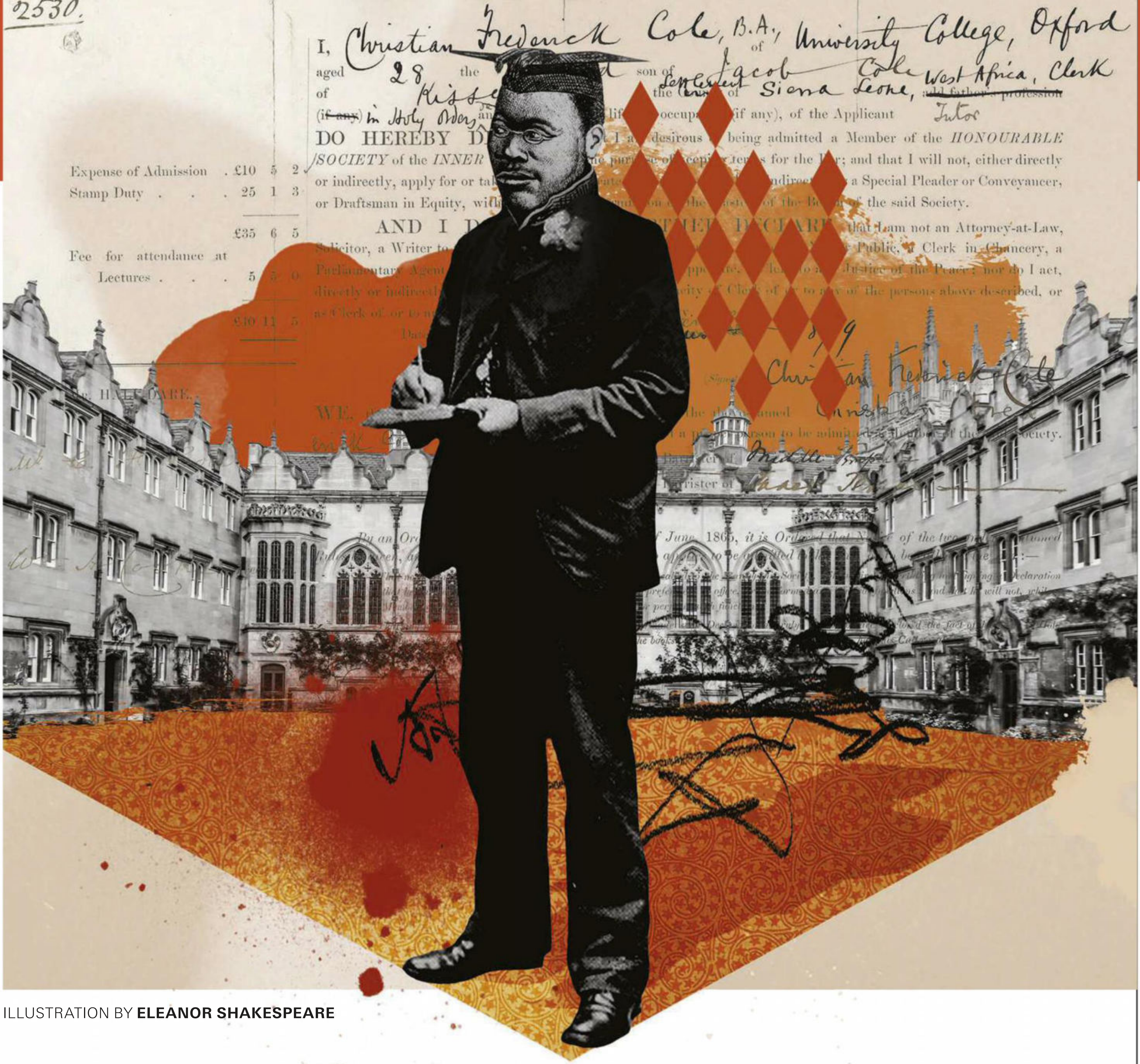


ILLUSTRATION BY **ELEANOR SHAKESPEARE**

PORTRAIT OF CHRISTIAN COLE: BODLEIAN LIBRARY

for other sources of income. He was a talented musician, and for a while he taught music to undergraduates, among them the Dean of Winchester's children. He also taught Responsions, as well as preparing students for the divinity exam, which they had to pass to graduate.

However, his attempts to secure sufficient income proved too precarious, and Cole was forced to seek the assistance of the master of University College, George Granville Bradley. Bradley produced a circular requesting aid to relieve Cole, stating "the absence of extravagance in his expenditure" and noting that "the exceptional nature of Mr Cole deserves and calls for the sympathy of and assistance of those in Oxford in which he lived with so much credit to himself". University College alumnus Herbert Gladstone, son of former prime minister William Ewart Gladstone, also backed the circular, but despite their efforts Cole was forced to return home.

Cole wouldn't be exiled from Britain for long. By 1879, his friends in Sierra Leone had raised enough funds for him to return to London, where he pursued his dream of a career in the law. It was a dream he realised. In September 1879, Cole became the first black African member of the Honourable Society of the Inner Temple, one of London's four prestigious Inns of Court. Then, after four more years of study, he achieved another significant landmark: he was called to the bar as the first African barrister to practise in the English courts.

It had been a long journey from the village of Waterloo to the imperial capital, but Cole remained keenly aware of his African roots. While in Sierra Leone, he had been drawn to pan-Africanism, which advocated the political union of all the indigenous inhabitants of the continent. Now, back in Britain, his developing political consciousness manifested itself in a poem, *Reflections on the Zulu War*, and a pamphlet, *What Do Men Say About Negros?*, in which he responded to the author and lawyer Frederic Edward Weatherly's criticism of Africans.

Despite being called to the bar, Cole was unable to secure any chambers in Britain and so secured a role as a barrister at the consular court of Sayyid Barghash bin Said Al-Busaid in Zanzibar. His success was short-lived. Just a year later, Cole contracted smallpox and died on 7 December 1885, aged 33. In his brief life, he had navigated the racial and cultural barriers of Victorian Britain to carve out two historic firsts. His untimely death curtailed any further achievements this remarkable man may have attained. H

Pamela Roberts is a historian and the author of *Black Oxford: The Untold Stories of Oxford University's Black Scholars* (Signal, 2013)

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BBC History Magazine is Britain's bestselling history magazine. We feature leading historians writing lively and thought-provoking new takes on the great events of the past.

The Cato Street conspiracy

GEORGIAN TERRORISTS

Two centuries ago, a group of political radicals hatched a plan to butcher the cabinet. Their goal was a working-class revolution. Yet little did they know, writes **Stephen Bates**, that the authorities were on to the plot and ready to pounce

Bloody designs
Cato Street conspirators (from l to r) John Monument, Arthur Thistlewood, William Davidson and Richard Tidd. The plotters planned to sever cabinet-members' heads and stick them on poles at Westminster Bridge

40

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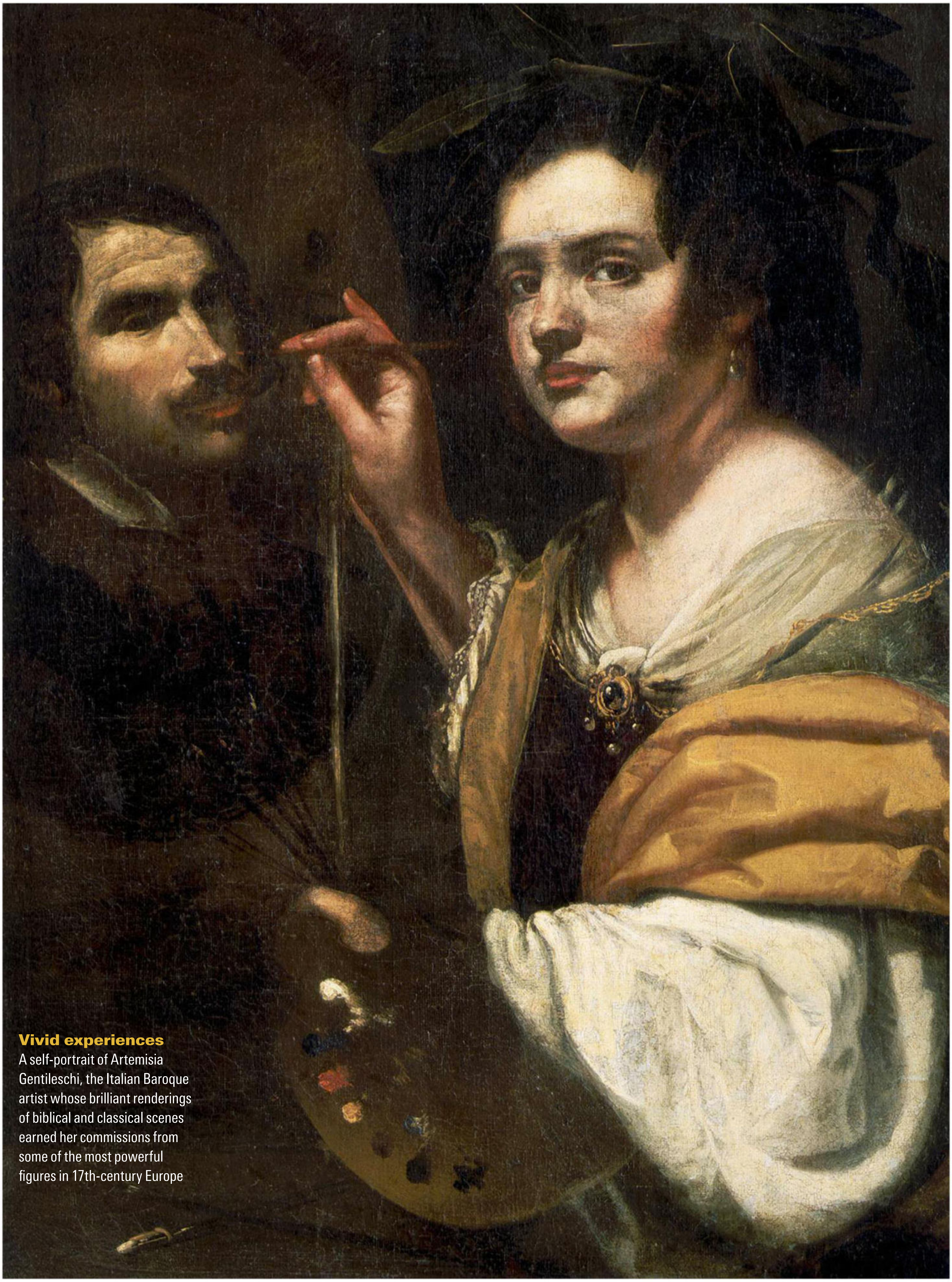

Vivid experiences
A self-portrait of Artemisia Gentileschi, the Italian Baroque artist whose brilliant renderings of biblical and classical scenes earned her commissions from some of the most powerful figures in 17th-century Europe

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The pain that powered Artemisia

She had a turbulent personal life but that didn't stop Artemisia Gentileschi becoming one of the greatest painters of the 17th century. In fact, as **Catherine Fletcher** reveals on the eve of a National Gallery exhibition on the artist, trauma spurred Artemisia on to greater heights

In 1620, the artist Artemisia Gentileschi was in the process of splitting up with her husband. In between the legal paperwork, she made a painting of the Old Testament heroine Yael. In the Book of Judges, Yael saves the Israelites by assassinating the Canaanite commander Sisera. Artemisia showed her in modern dress, poised to hammer a nail through Sisera's head. It's tempting to wonder quite what Artemisia's ex made of it all.

Once perceived as a novelty on account of her sex, Artemisia is now regarded as one of the most important European painters of the 17th century. She was an impressive entrepreneur with what art historian Mary Garrard has called "almost unreasonably grand ambition". Her extraordinary portrayals rework themes from biblical and classical sources to show women in control not only of their own destiny, but those of their people. Judith, another biblical heroine, famously assassinated an enemy general, Holofernes. Artemisia, however, added her own visceral spin to the killing, showing Judith in the act of beheading Holofernes, blood spurting from his neck as she puts the power of her arm into the sword.

Born in Rome in 1593, Artemisia was the daughter of Orazio Gentileschi, an artist influenced by the leading Italian painter Caravaggio. She appears to have had a sheltered childhood but one in which she was given the opportunity to acquire skills in painting – and, by her late teens, she was already producing spectacular art. Her earliest surviving work is *Susanna and the Elders*. Painted in 1610, it shows two older men spying on the virtuous Susanna in her bath. This was a popular biblical subject, but while many portrayals showed Susanna either oblivious to the Elders' gaze or even perhaps enjoying it, in Artemisia's painting she is distressed by the experience. This is a depiction of female trauma, not a saucy entertainment.

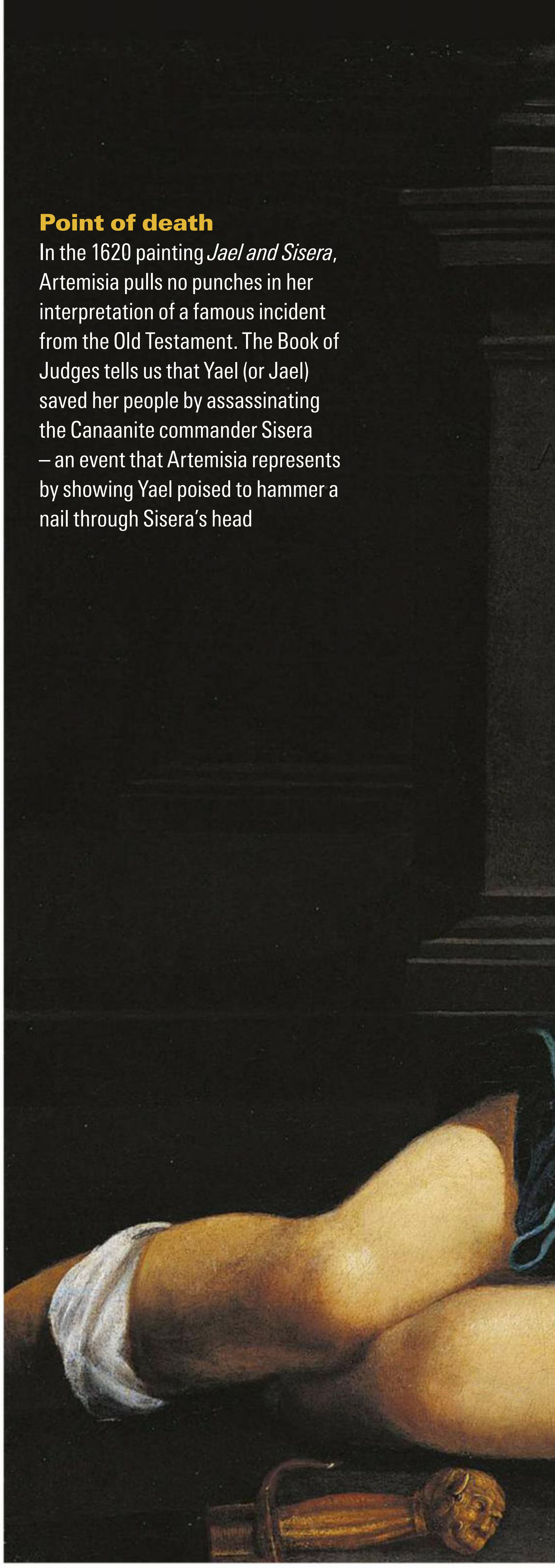
The subject of the chaste Susanna may also have helped the young Artemisia fend off damaging rumours that suggested her father had encouraged her to model nude before an audience. Maintaining a reputation for chastity was vital to young women in the period. But just two years later, Artemisia's own reputation was put on trial in the most public and painful circumstances imaginable.

In May 1611 Artemisia had been raped by Agostino Tassi, a fellow painter. Tassi was supposed to be helping Artemisia develop her trompe l'oeil technique, but abused his position to pursue her – with the help of a woman called Tuzia, a close friend and tenant of the Gentileschi family. Tuzia, Artemisia testified, "tried to persuade me that Agostino was a well-mannered young man, courteous to women, and that we would get along very well with each other". Persuaded that Tassi would marry her, Artemisia became the victim of ongoing sexual exploitation.

In March 1612, however, Orazio Gentileschi took his daughter's teacher to court. In the eyes of the legal system at the time, the complaint was his: Tassi had 'deflowered' his virginal daughter, thereby compromising her chances of marriage.

Artemisia was subjected to a virginity test, carried out by two midwives, and tortured with thumbscrews in an attempt to ensure her testimony was truthful. The experience she recounted to the court was horrific: Tassi, she said, "pushed me in and locked the [bedroom] door. He then threw me onto the edge of the bed, pushing me with a hand on my breast, and he put a knee between my thighs to prevent me from closing them". He put a hand over her mouth "to keep me from screaming". Artemisia still "tried to scream as best I could, calling Tuzia. I scratched his face and pulled his hair… When I saw myself free I went to the table drawer and took out a knife and moved toward Agostino saying: 'I'd like to kill you with this knife because you have dishonoured me'." She didn't go through with the threat, but it is hardly surprising that many people have argued that Artemisia's paintings of powerful women betray her own trauma and temperament.

Tassi predictably claimed that not only had Artemisia agreed to have sex, but that she had been known to sleep around. Her father denied it in court. Agostino, he insisted, "cannot say that Artemisia has misbehaved with others, since he would be lying through his teeth, because from the day that he deflowered her he constantly put men around Artemisia's house to watch whoever entered and left, both day and night." Artemisia



Point of death
In the 1620 painting *Jael and Sisera*, Artemisia pulls no punches in her interpretation of a famous incident from the Old Testament. The Book of Judges tells us that Yael (or Jael) saved her people by assassinating the Canaanite commander Sisera – an event that Artemisia represents by showing Yael poised to hammer a nail through Sisera's head

GETTY IMAGES/BRIDGEMAN

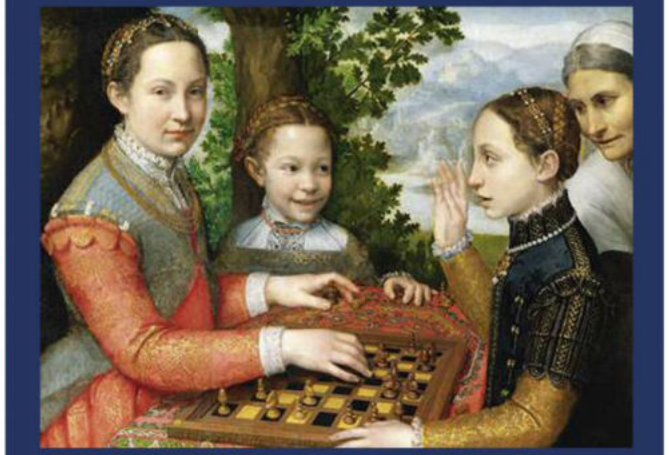
Artemisia was tortured with thumbscrews in an attempt to ensure her testimony was truthful

FEMALE MASTERS

Three other women whose art enchanted Europe

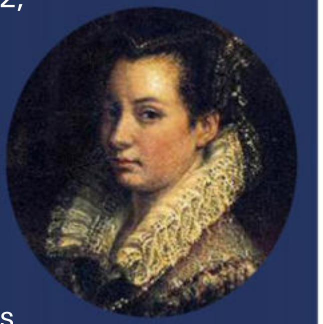
The court painter

Sofonisba Anguissola's best-known painting is her *Lucia, Minerva, and Europa Anguissola Playing Chess* (dating to 1555 and pictured below), a portrait of her sisters, significant for its novel image of domestic warmth and informality. The daughter of a nobleman from Cremona, Sofonisba was, in 1559, invited to Madrid, where she became court painter to King Philip II. Living well into the 17th century (she died in 1625) , she provides a link between the last generation of Renaissance painters and the new Baroque style.



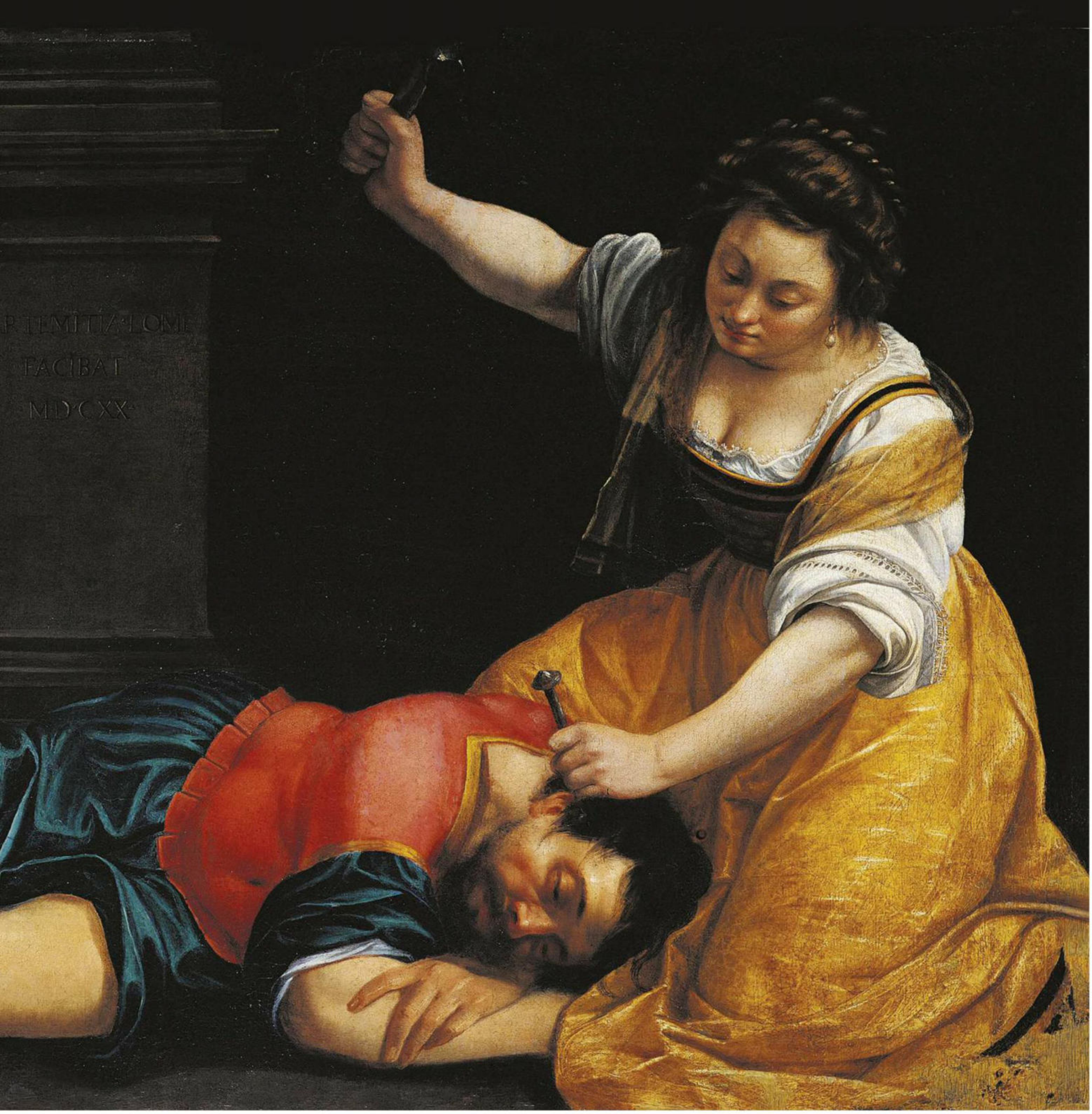
The Vatican's favourite

Born in Bologna in 1552, **Lavinia Fontana** (right) was one of the first female academicians in Italy, joining the Accademia di San Luca in Rome by the early 17th century. Like Artemisia, she was the daughter of a painter, and initially carved out a career as a portraitist specialising in works for the elite women of her home city. From the early 17th century she worked in Rome with the patronage of Pope Clement VIII and other leading Vatican figures.



The devoted artist

Elisabetta Sirani (1638–65) made a dramatic impression on the Bolognese art scene during her short career. She was a prolific painter who produced numerous devotional images as well as altarpieces. Like Artemisia Gentileschi, she was known for her portrayals of heroic women, although her Judith, for example, appears much cooler-headed. Elisabetta's untimely death prompted claims of poisoning, and a maidservant was put on trial, but the charges were dropped.



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confirmed: "I never had any sexual relations with any other person besides the said Agostino. It is true that Cosimo [a friend of Agostino] made all sorts of efforts to have me… but never did I consent."

Agostino and Cosimo had made the mistake of boasting about their pursuit of Artemisia to another man, Giovanni Battista Stiattesi, who now gave evidence against them. Stiattesi had other details to add, too, not least that Agostino was already married, had run off with his sister-in-law (technically incest, for which he had served time in jail), and had then hired contract killers to murder his wife. None of this endeared Tassi to the judges, who found against him. However, he seems to have served only eight months in prison before the case was dismissed.

Inclined to marry

Later the same year, Artemisia married Pierantonio Stiattesi, probably a relative of that key witness, a move that helped mend her reputation. He was a citizen of Florence, where the couple relocated early in 1613. Artemisia's dowry was probably invested in their business, to which Pierantonio brought useful city contacts. Within two years Artemisia had been commissioned to produce three paintings for Cosimo II de' Medici, Grand Duke of Tuscany. She then went on to paint an *Allegory of Inclination* for the Casa Buonarroti, the house being established by Michelangelo's great-nephew to commemorate his celebrated relative.

Artemisia's Florentine years were a whirl of work, child-bearing and financial juggling. In the course of seven years she had at least four – probably five – children. In Florence she became acquainted with the astronomer Galileo Galilei, who had recently published his groundbreaking treatise *The Starry Messenger*, and in 1616 she was the first female artist to become a member of the Florentine Academy, the Accademia delle Arti del Disegno. In 1618, she also embarked on a four-year affair with nobleman Francesco Maria Maringhi, a part of her story only discovered in 2011 when a collection of letters came to light. Her husband apparently tolerated the relationship, at least for a while. This was not entirely unusual in the context of marriages of convenience, especially in a case like this where Maringhi's patronage was useful to the couple.

As Pierantonio pointed out in a letter to Maringhi, appearances mattered: "If you want to get ahead, you need to make a show of good taste and demonstrate that you live in comfort, because when people see that your house is in order, it makes all the difference and you enjoy much more credit." And to keep up appearances, he and Artemisia relied on credit to obtain the luxurious fashions that also featured in her paintings. So long as they were doing well, they could keep up repayments, but the loans became problematic when their marriage broke down.

With her affair having, once again, made her the centre of public scandal, Artemisia left Florence. Solely responsible now for the debts that had once been shared with her husband, and facing the confiscation of her property, she moved back to Rome.

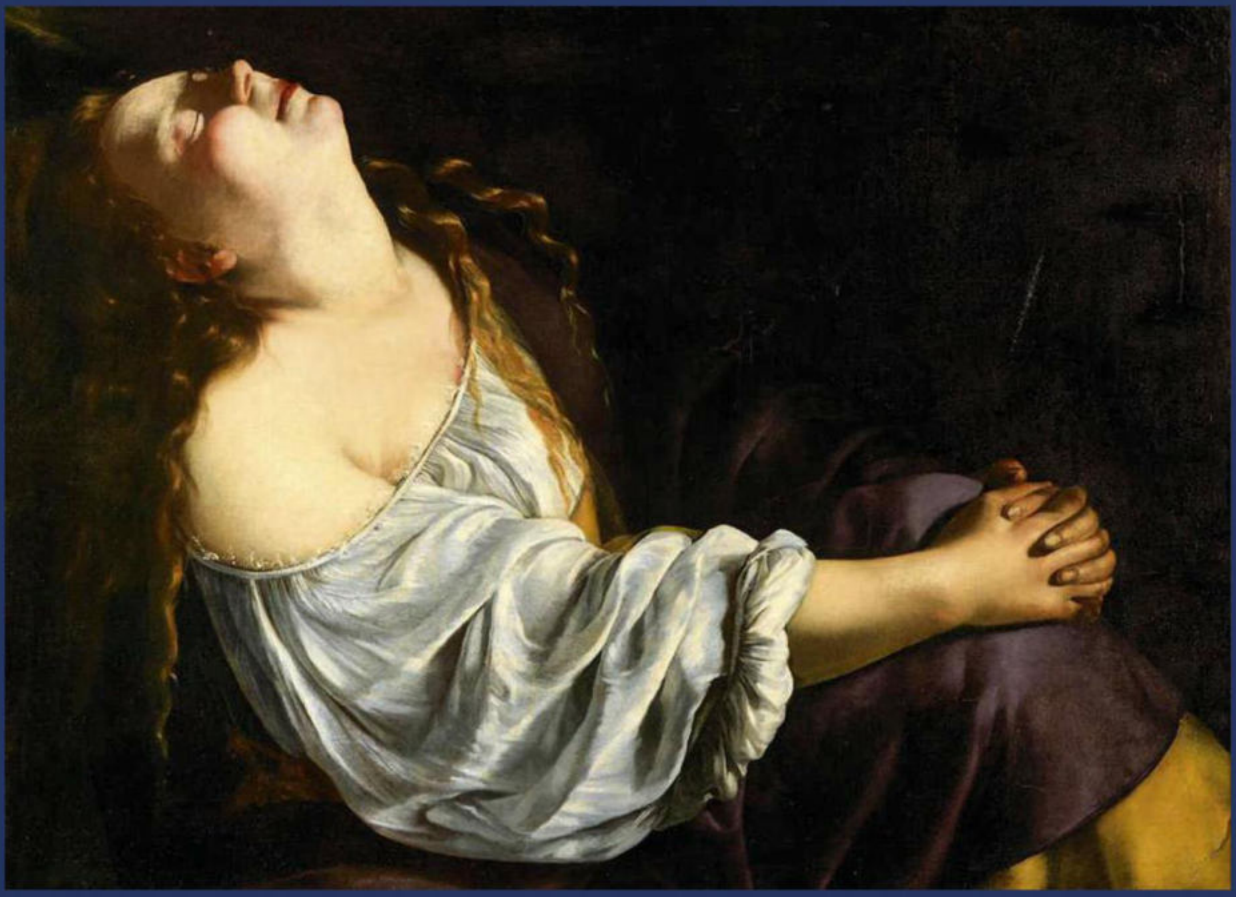
Artemisia spent the next decade first in Rome and then in Venice. More than a decade earlier, Rome had opened up its art academy, the Accademia di San Luca, to admit women, while Pope Urban VIII was an important patron of creative women, among them the artists Virginia da Vezzo and Maddalena Corvini, and the architect Plautilla Bricci. Artemisia herself did not join the academy in Rome, perhaps because she did not stay in the city for long before departing for Venice, but in Venice, too, she had access to a cultural scene known for its outspoken women. Among them was Arcangela Tarabotti, who became famous for her attack on the enclosure of unwilling women in nunneries.

Besides the biblical subjects for which she is best known, Artemisia also took inspiration from classical sources. Although she had not been fully literate at the time of the rape

She wrote to Galileo that she had been "honoured by all the kings and rulers of Europe to whom I have sent my work"

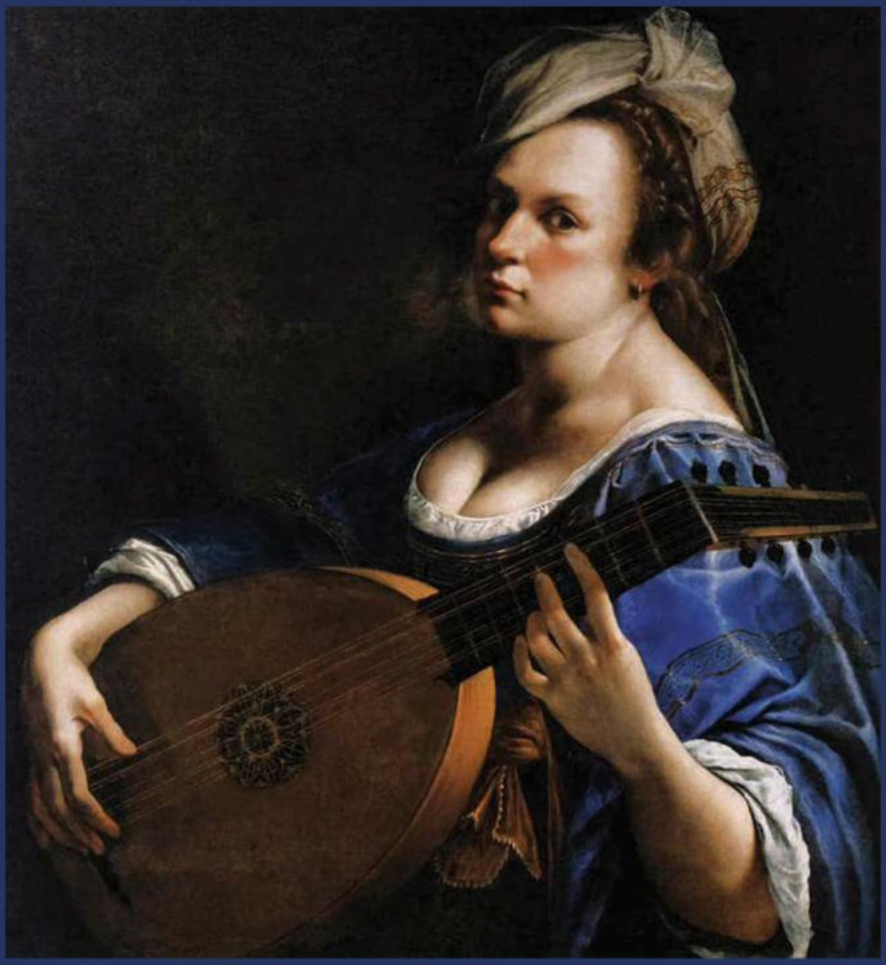
The agony and the ecstasy

The paintings that won Artemisia widespread acclaim



Mary Magdalene in Ecstasy
c1620–25

This painting sold at auction in 2014 for €865,500, testimony to the attraction of Artemisia's work today. It is a strikingly modern work, showing the saint in 17th-century dress in an intimate moment of religious transformation.



Self-Portrait as a Lute Player
1615–17

Artemisia painted several lute-players, including this self-portrait. She may have played the instrument herself at the Florentine court around the time she was working on this painting. Musical skills were a valued attribute in court circles.

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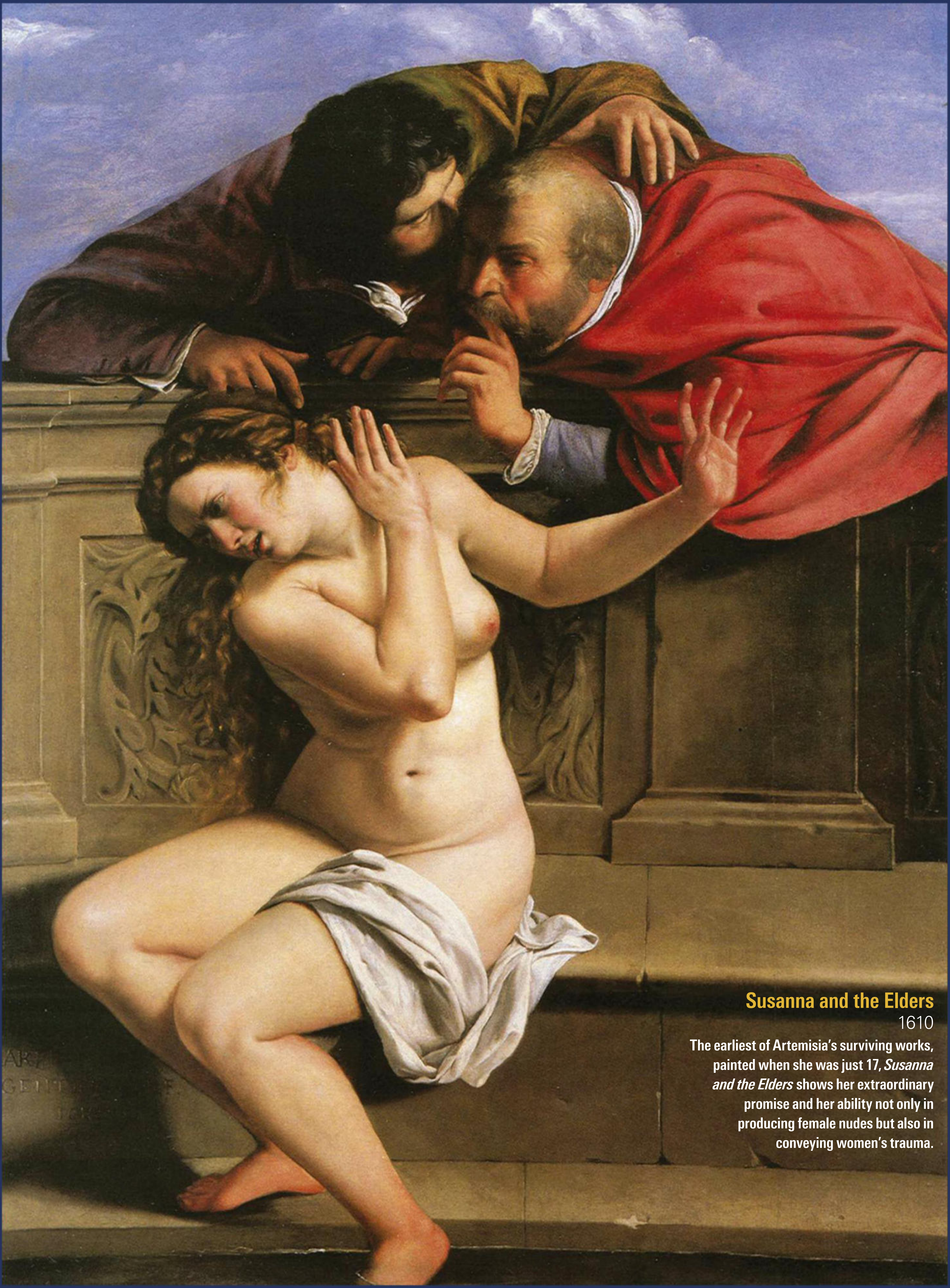

Susanna and the Elders

1610

The earliest of Artemisia's surviving works, painted when she was just 17, *Susanna and the Elders* shows her extraordinary promise and her ability not only in producing female nudes but also in conveying women's trauma.

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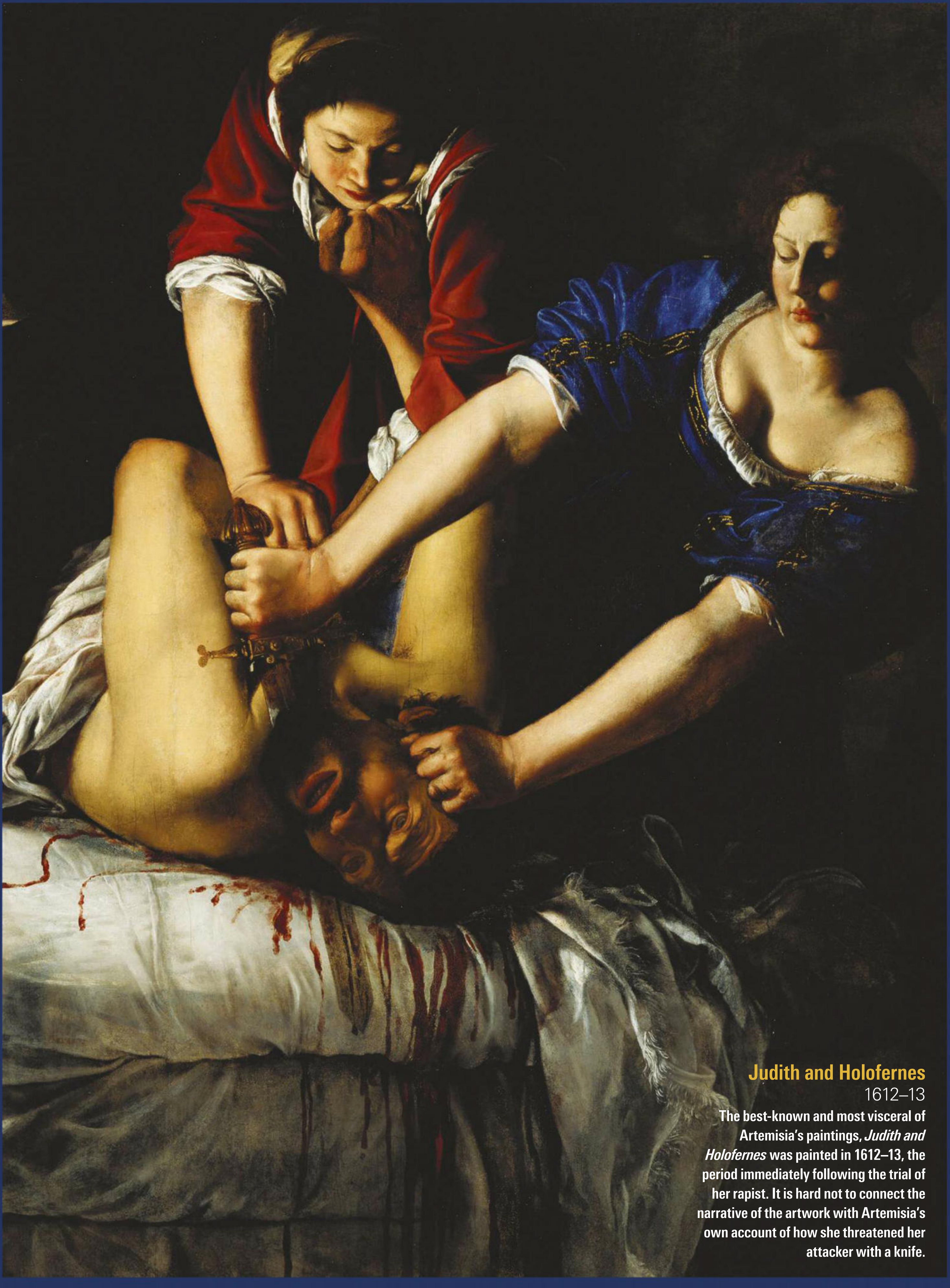

Judith and Holofernes

1612–13

The best-known and most visceral of Artemisia's paintings, *Judith and Holofernes* was painted in 1612–13, the period immediately following the trial of her rapist. It is hard not to connect the narrative of the artwork with Artemisia's own account of how she threatened her attacker with a knife.

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trial, by the 1620s she had learnt to write and was clearly familiar with high culture. Her painting of *Corisca and the Satyr* (c1635–37), in which a clever nymph evades an attempted seduction, has parallels with literary works by her female contemporaries. Like Yael and Judith, Corisca is an Artemisia heroine who uses trickery to outwit her opponent.

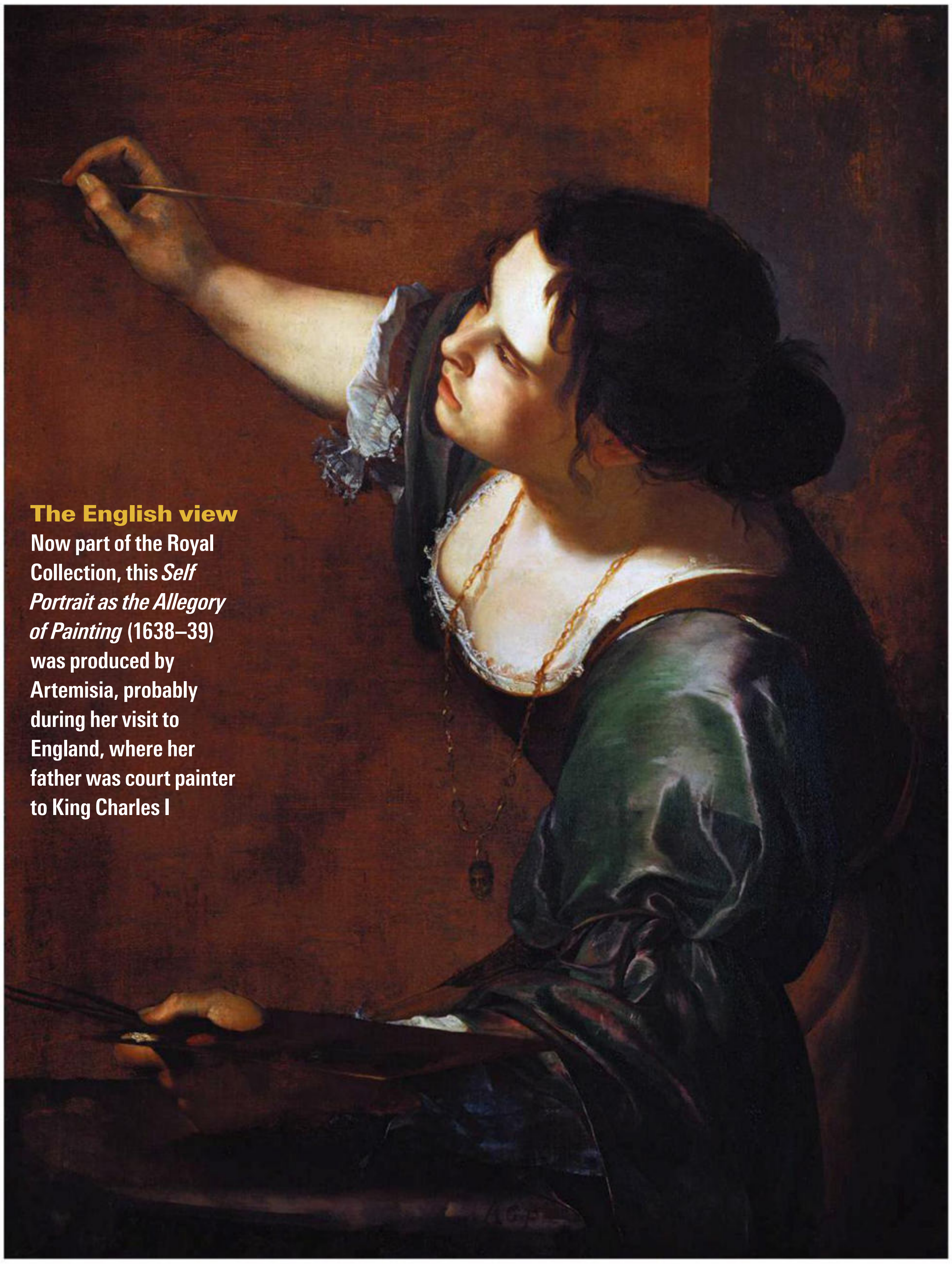
Honoured by kings

In 1630 Artemisia moved to Naples and there spent the remainder of her career, with the exception of a 1638 trip to London where her father was court painter to Charles I. Her *Self-Portrait as the Allegory of Painting* was part of Charles's collection. By this time, as she wrote to Galileo, she had been “honoured by all the kings and rulers of Europe to whom I have sent my works”.

She was not backward about asserting her talent directly. Hoping to obtain commissions from Francesco I d'Este, Duke of Modena, she sent a sample of work and a letter observing that: “I have served all the major rulers of Europe, who appreciate my work… it would provide the evidence of my fame… Therefore please forgive my daring but ambitiously honourable gesture.”

In this later period, Artemisia's work included multiple female nudes, such as a *Death of Cleopatra* and paintings of *David and Bathsheba*. Always alert to the practicalities of running a business, she complained that obtaining suitable models for this work was “very expensive” and “a big headache”. She added: “When I find good ones, they fleece me, and at other times, one must suffer [their] pettiness with the patience of Job.” By this time, demand for her art outstripped the works she herself was supplying, and – as was common in the period – members of her workshop produced paintings labelled the work of ‘Artemisia’, even though her own involvement may have been limited.

When it came to marketing, Artemisia was a tough negotiator. In 1649 she wrote to Don Antonio Ruffo, a prominent collector, refusing him a discount: “I was mortified to hear that you want to deduct one third… I cannot accept a reduction, both because of the value of the painting and of my great need.” She was “displeased that for the second time I am being treated as a novice”. In a subsequent letter she did not back down, writing that Ruffo would “find the spirit of Caesar in this soul of a woman”. She had overcome the barriers to women entering the profession by training in her father's household, but was still conscious that she was at risk of inferior treatment because of her sex. On receiving a drawing from her, one patron had then hired a male artist to do the work. “If I were a man,” she wrote, “I can't imagine it would have turned out this way.”



The English view
Now part of the Royal Collection, this *Self Portrait as the Allegory of Painting* (1638–39) was produced by Artemisia, probably during her visit to England, where her father was court painter to King Charles I

It's still fashionable to emphasise the details of Artemisia's private life at the expense of her professional work

Artemisia died in c1654, but it would be more than 300 years before her legacy truly came to light. Even then, it remained fashionable to emphasise the details of her private life at the expense of her professional work, whether in relation to her rape, or her affair with Maringhi. Both are easily sensationalised, but they often carry the sexist implication that the scandal matters more than Artemisia's artistic output. Of course, her gender made a difference to her work. But it's high time we stopped looking at Artemisia's art only through the lens of her personal life. We rarely do that with her male contemporaries – so why should we do so with her?

Catherine Fletcher is a historian of Renaissance and early modern Europe. Her latest book is *The Beauty and the Terror: An Alternative History of the Italian Renaissance* (Bodley Head, 2020)

VISIT **Artemisia**, an exhibition running from 4 April at the National Gallery, tells the story of the artist's remarkable life and works of art: *nationalgallery.org.uk/exhibitions/artemisia*

LISTEN To hear Caroline Walker discuss Artemisia in the BBC Radio 3 Sunday Feature **Gentileschi's Revenge**, go to *bbc.co.uk/programmes/m000cyzs*

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THE BLOODBATH

The path to annihilation

ABOVE: **Our montage image shows a US rifleman looking out for Japanese snipers hiding in caves, while US tanks deploy flame-throwers. The assault on Okinawa – the first major battle fought on Japanese territory – met with fanatical resistance**
RIGHT: **'Little Boy' explodes over the city of Hiroshima on 6 August 1945**

AND THE BOMB

The US assault on Okinawa 75 years ago was the bloodiest of the Pacific War, an 83-day slog that cost 250,000 lives. **Saul David** describes a battle so terrible that it persuaded President Truman to reject an invasion of Japan and turn instead to the atomic bomb

USMC-NARA/GETTY IMAGES/ALAMY

"Smoke and dust rose up from the shore, thousands of feet high," wrote the Pulitzer Prize-winning war correspondent Ernie Pyle, watching from the 5th Marines' command ship, "until finally the land was completely veiled. Bombs and strafing machine guns and roaring engines mingled with the crash of naval bombardment and seemed to drown out all existence. The ghastly concussion set up vibrations in the air – a sort of flutter – which pained and pounded the ears as though with invisible drumsticks. During all this time the waves of assault craft were forming up behind us."

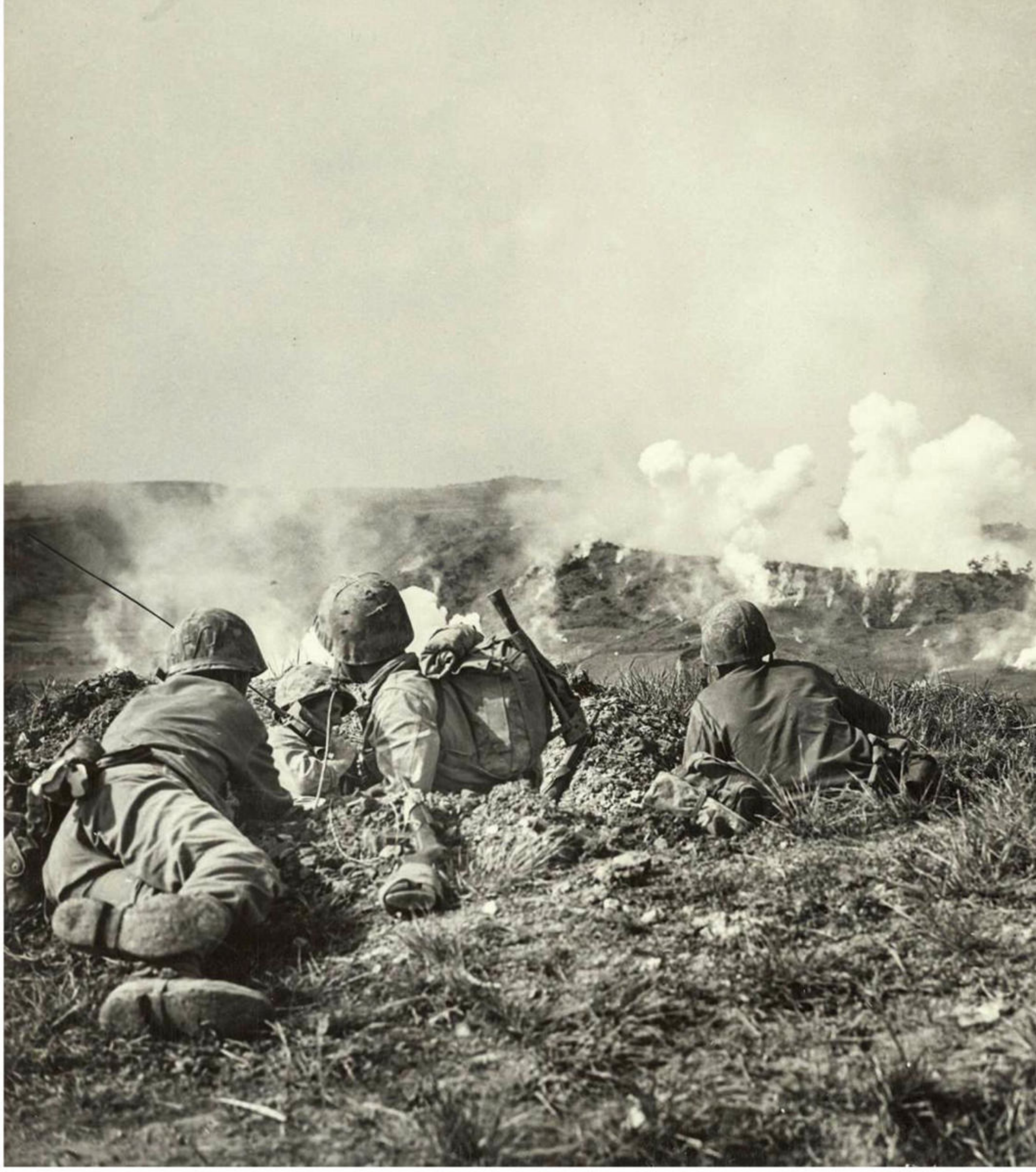
It was 7:45am on 1 April 1945 – or 'Love Day', the invasion of the 70 mile-long island of Okinawa, the most southerly of Japan's 47 prefectures. Pyle's ship was just one of 1,300 Allied vessels, containing 183,000 combat troops, that were taking part in the greatest air-land-sea battle in history, the last major clash of the Second World War, and one that would have profound consequences for the modern world.

The decision to attack Okinawa – Operation 'Iceberg' – had been taken by American military chiefs the previous October. Possession of Okinawa, just 400 miles south of the Japanese home islands, would allow Allied planes to bomb strategic targets on the mainland and prepare the ground for an amphibious invasion. It was the culmination of a two-pronged American advance – through New Guinea and the Philippines and, further north, through the islands of the central Pacific – that had been gathering pace since the landings on Guadalcanal in the Solomon Islands in August 1942. Now, with this second landing on Japanese soil (following Iwo Jima in February 1945), the end of the Pacific War was in sight.

Dead in the water

In one of the first assault craft to hit the beach at H-hour – 8:30am – was 22-year-old Corporal Jim Johnston from Nebraska. As they approached the shore, Johnston thought of the dead Marines he had seen in the water and on the beach during the bloody battle for the island of Peleliu the previous September, and "wondered what we would look like to the waves that would come behind us". He approached a pillbox, anticipating the "impact of bullets ripping into my body", but there was "no fire". The pillbox was empty. So he and his men moved inland and, within an hour, the beachhead "was several hundred yards deep and growing by the minute".

By nightfall, the beachhead on the west coast of Okinawa was 15,000 yards long and, in places, 5,000 yards deep. More than 60,000 men were ashore. In addition, numerous tanks and anti-aircraft units had been landed, as had all the divisional artillery and, by evening, guns were in position to support the forward troops. A captured airfield was now serviceable for emergency landings.

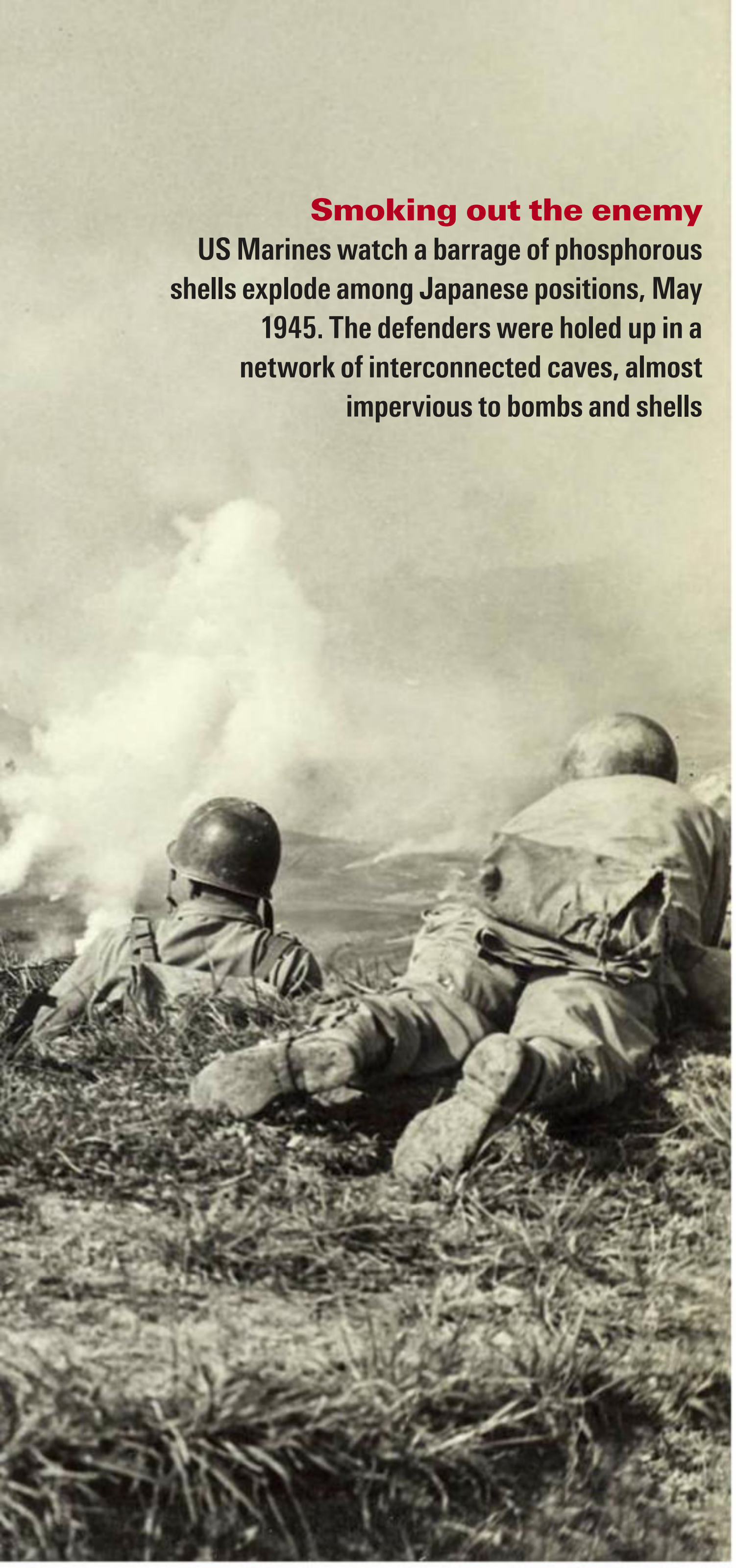


USMC-NARA

OKINAWA WAS THE GREATEST AIR-LAND-SEA BATTLE IN HISTORY, THE LAST MAJOR CLASH OF THE SECOND WORLD WAR

The American commander, Lieutenant General Simon B Buckner Jr, was elated. "We landed practically without opposition," he noted in his diary, "and gained more ground than we expected to for three days… The Japs have missed their best opportunity."

Unbeknown to Buckner, who was fighting his first ever battle, the day was going entirely to plan for the Japanese commanders. Aware that their 80,000 soldiers, bolstered by around 20,000 Okinawan 'Boeitai' (home guard), were outgunned and outnumbered, they had chosen to concentrate the bulk of their forces behind several heavily fortified lines in the southern third of the island where, well protected in tunnels and caves, they could withstand any amount of American bombs and shells. Here several jagged lines of ridges and rocky escarpment had been turned into formidable nests of interlocking pillboxes and firing positions. All were connected by a network of caves



Smoking out the enemy
US Marines watch a barrage of phosphorous shells explode among Japanese positions, May 1945. The defenders were holed up in a network of interconnected caves, almost impervious to bombs and shells

and passageways inside the hills that allowed the defenders to move safely to each point of attack.

Stiffening opposition

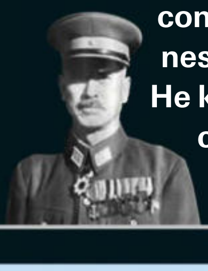
Blissfully unaware of the Japanese strategy, Buckner's men made rapid progress during the first few days of the campaign, cutting the island in two and brushing aside light enemy forces. By 4 April, Buckner's US 10th Army held a slice of Okinawa 15 miles long and from three to ten miles wide. The beachhead included two airfields and beaches that, in the words of the official history of the Okinawa campaign, "could take immense tonnage from the cargo ships, and sufficient space for dumps and installations that were rapidly being built".

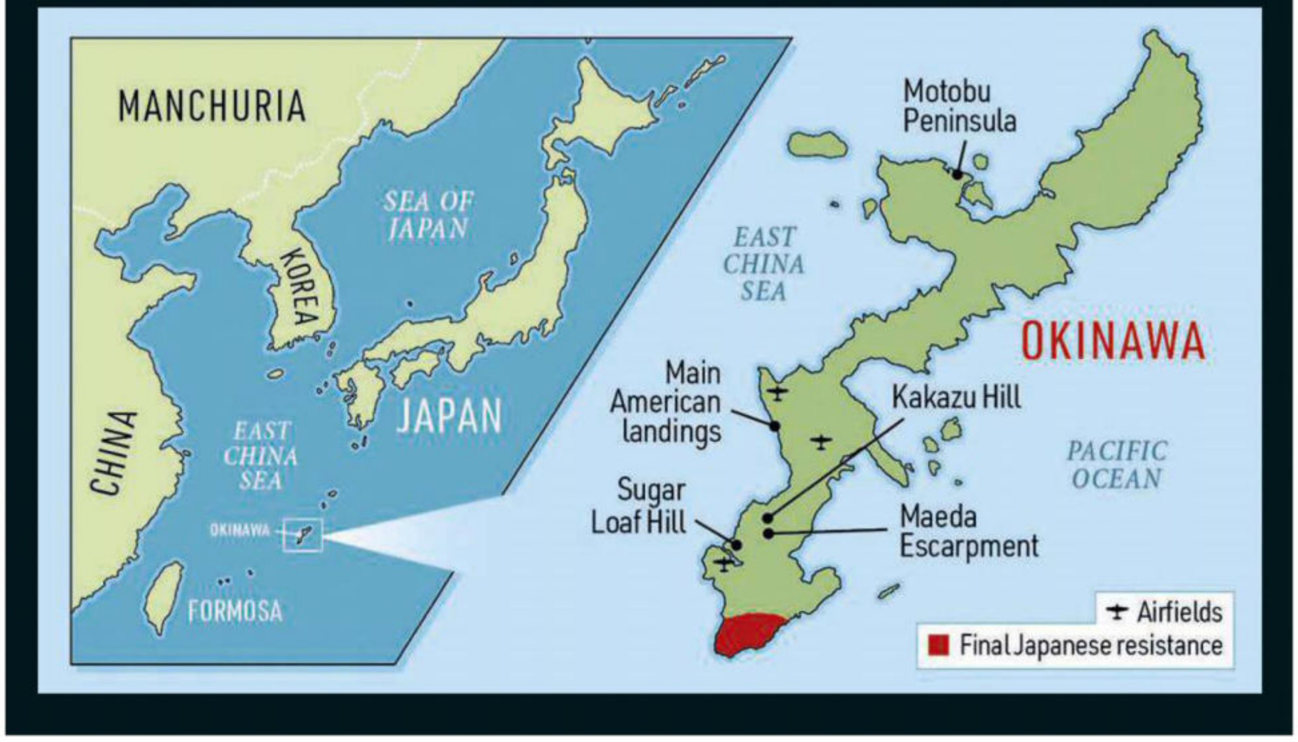
But, as the US Army's XXIV Corps moved south towards the main Japanese defences, the opposition stiffened. The first line was the Kakazu hill mass, which boasted formidable defensive features, including a deep moat, a hill studded with natural and man-made positions and a cluster of thick-walled buildings. A four-day assault began on 9 April, but failed to break through the storm of Japanese artillery, mortar and

GETTY IMAGES/ MAP ILLUSTRATION: PAUL HEWITT, BATTLEFIELD DESIGN

HELL'S OWN CESSPOOL

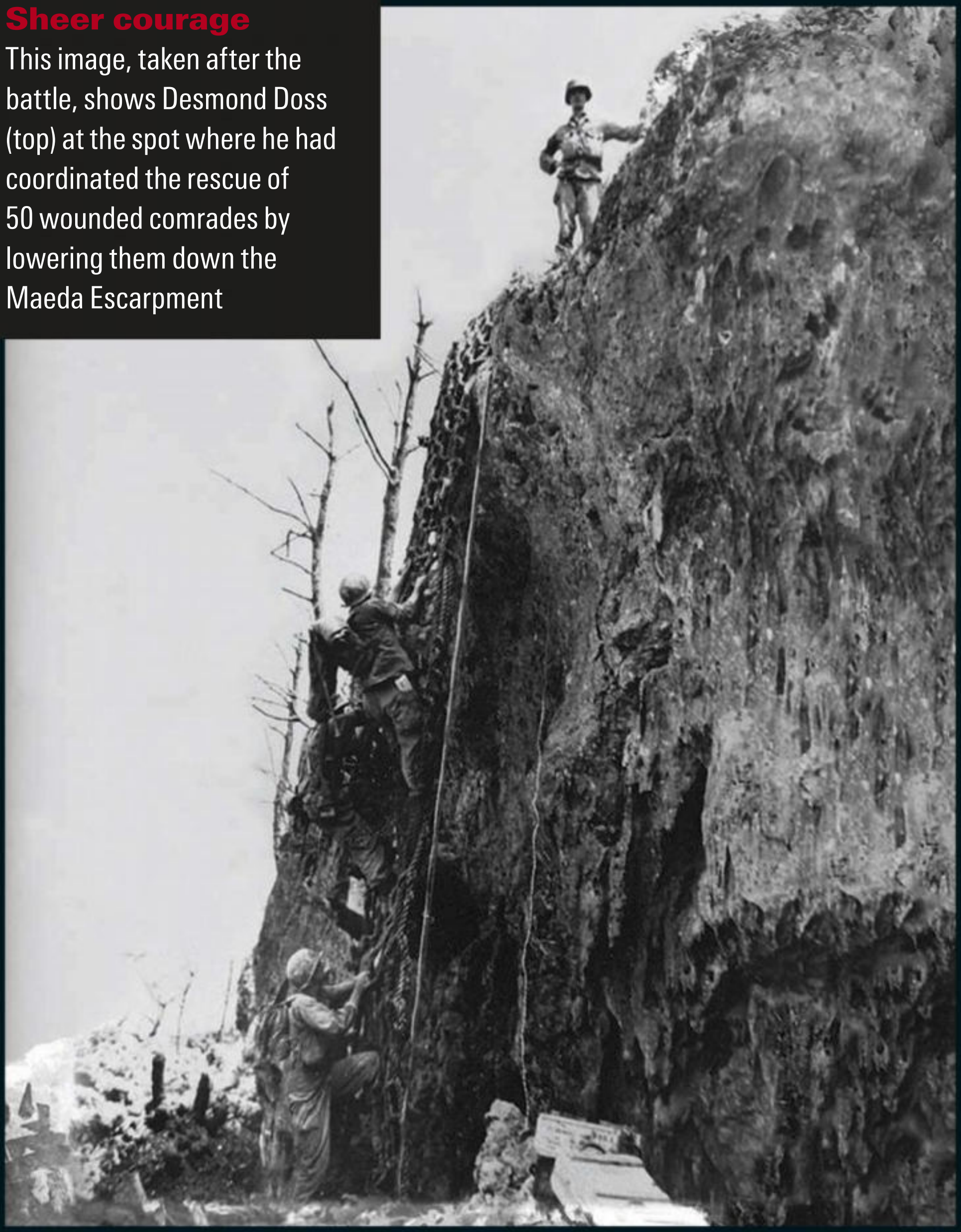
The brutal struggle for Okinawa in figures

Battle dates	1 April–22 June 1945	
	ALLIED	**JAPANESE**
Troop numbers	540,000, including navy, air and army (of whom 183,000 American ground troops took part in the initial assault)	110,000, including navy, air and army
Casualties	12,520 dead, 37,000 wounded and 26,000 'non-battle' casualties	100,000 dead and 7,400 PoWs (mostly Okinawans)
Other losses	458 planes and 36 ships (with a further 368 damaged)	4,155 planes and 16 ships (with a further four damaged)
KEY COMMANDERS		
Navy	Admiral Raymond A Spruance (left), commanding the US Fifth Fleet	Vice Admiral Seiichi Itō, commanding the 'Ten-go' task force. He went down with the battleship *Yamato* on 7 April 1945
Air force	Not applicable, as they had no independent air force	Vice Admiral Matome Ugaki, commanding the Fifth Air Fleet – killed in a kamikaze attack on 15 August
Ground forces	Lieutenant General Simon B Buckner Jr, commanding the US 10th Army (killed by enemy shellfire on 18 June)	 Lieutenant General Mitsuru Ushijima (left), commanding the Japanese 32nd Army. He killed himself with his chief of staff in the early hours of 22 June



Shot down

A kamikaze plane goes down in flames while attempting to attack USS *Wake Island*, 3 April 1945. The Japanese also launched ships on suicide missions, human torpedoes and manned rockets at the American fleet



Sheer courage

This image, taken after the battle, shows Desmond Doss (top) at the spot where he had coordinated the rescue of 50 wounded comrades by lowering them down the Maeda Escarpment

machine gunfire – costing the XXIV Corps almost 3,000 casualties. One veteran described the operation as a "meat-grinder" for the US troops.

When a second offensive in late April made little headway, subordinates urged Buckner to try an amphibious landing *behind* the Japanese defences. He refused on the grounds that the beaches in the south were too small for resupply and there was a danger that the troops would fail to break out of their beachhead.

It was a missed opportunity, and one that would have costly consequences. Buckner admitted as much to his wife when he wrote: "The Japs here seem to have the strongest position yet encountered in the Pacific, and it will be a slow tedious grind with flamethrowers, explosives placed by hand and the closest of teamwork to dislodge them without very heavy losses."

Stumps of rotting teeth

In early May, Buckner ordered the Marines of III Amphibious Corps, which had captured the Motobu peninsula in the north, to reinforce the 'doughboys' of XXIV Corps in the south. The first view of the battlefield was a shock to Sergeant William Manchester of the 2/29th Marines. "It was," he recalled, "a monstrous sight, a moonscape. Hills, ridges and cliffs rose and fell along the front like the gray stumps of rotting teeth. There was nothing green left; artillery had denuded and scarred every inch of ground. Tiny flares glowed and disappeared. Shrapnel burst with bluish white puffs. Jets of flamethrowers flickered and here and there new explosions stirred up the rubble."

Final mission

Kiyoshi Ogawa, pictured ahead of the kamikaze mission against USS *Bunker Hill*, an attack that cost more than 300 American lives

During this phase of the fighting, Private First Class Desmond Doss, a 26-year-old Seventh Day Adventist from Virginia – who had joined up as a medic to avoid the need to kill – won the Medal of Honor after rescuing at least 50 wounded comrades and then lowering them to safety down a sheer cliff known as the Maeda Escarpment. Doss's astonishing feat was celebrated in the 2016 Mel Gibson-directed film *Hacksaw Ridge*.

Some of the most savage fighting was for a seemingly insignificant feature – described by one veteran as an "ugly hive" of "coral and volcanic rock, 300 yards long and 100 feet high" – dubbed Sugar Loaf Hill. The week-long battle to capture the hill cost the 6th Marine Division more than 2,600 casualties, including three battalion commanders and nine company commanders, and a further 1,200 cases of combat fatigue. With heavy rain adding to the misery, the battlefield was a hellish sight. "The scene," wrote Eugene Sledge of 3/5th Marines, "was nothing but

COURTESY OF NAVAL HISTORY AND HERITAGE COMMAND-NARA-80-G342629/US ARMY

Fight to the death Marines look on as dynamite charges explode among Japanese caves. The vast majority of Okinawa's 110,000 defenders died in the battle for the island

USMC-NARA

mud; shellfire, flooded craters with their silent, pathetic, rotting occupants; knocked-out tanks and amtracs, and discarded equipment – utter desolation… Men struggled and fought and bled in an environment so degrading I believed we had been flung into hell's own cesspool."

Determined to defend Okinawa to the last, the Japanese fought with fanatical bravery. The garrison was supported by waves of kamikaze attacks from planes, manned rockets, human torpedoes and even ships launched on suicide missions from the home islands. The planes were flown by officers of the *Shimpū Tokkōtai*, the Divine Wind Special Attack units, who had pledged to "crash their airplanes into enemy ships in acts of self-immolation". Meanwhile, the one-way surface ship mission, known as Operation 'Ten-go', was an attempt by the superbattleship *Yamato*, the world's largest, to wreak havoc among the Allied ships with its 18-inch guns before beaching itself on the shore and using its crew as naval infantry.

These attacks were launched with the aim of destroying or driving off the ships of the US Fifth Fleet (including a powerful Royal Navy component) and isolating the American troops on Okinawa. But they failed – and thousands of Japanese lost their lives, including 2,500 on *Yamato* alone. However, they did sink 36 US ships and damage a further 368, the heaviest US naval losses of the Second World War.

"MEN FOUGHT AND BLED IN AN ENVIRONMENT SO DEGRADING I BELIEVED WE HAD BEEN FLUNG INTO HELL'S OWN CESSPOOL"

Left to fight on alone, the Japanese garrison made a desperate last stand in the southern tip of the island where it had herded many civilians. The end came on 22 June 1945 when the 10th Army HQ announced that all organised resistance on Okinawa had ceased, though it would take another week to complete the mopping-up operation.

Caught in the crossfire

During the 83 days of the battle, around a quarter of a million people were killed. They included the vast majority of the 110,000 Japanese and Okinawan combatants, most of whom refused to surrender. Some 12,500 American servicemen lost their lives (out of total casualties of 76,000), making Okinawa by far the bloodiest US battle of the Pacific – and one of the costliest in the country's history. Perhaps most tragically of all, more than 125,000 Okinawan civilians were killed (a third of the prewar population) – either caught in the crossfire or because they believed Japanese propaganda that it was better to kill themselves than be raped and murdered by the Americans. One 15-year-old Okinawan boy – who was persuaded by Japanese soldiers to kill his

Last sighting Lieutenant General Simon B Buckner Jr (right), commander of the US 10th Army, pictured moments before he was killed by a Japanese shell while observing an American attack, 18 June

Pain of battle
A US Marine guides a wounded Japanese soldier from a blasted cave, 17 June

mother – recalled: "We tried to use rope at first, but in the end we hit her over the head with stones. I was crying as I did it and she was crying too."

Among the notable fatalities were both field commanders – Lieutenant General Buckner was killed by a Japanese artillery shell as he observed an American attack, becoming the most senior US officer to die in the war. A Japanese vice admiral also lost his life, as did the celebrated war correspondent Ernie Pyle, who had survived north Africa, Italy and the D-Day landings only to fall to a sniper's bullet on a small island off the north coast of Okinawa.

But even more than the appalling ferocity of the fighting, it is the far-reaching consequences of Okinawa that make it one of the most significant battles in world history. On 18 June, with the Japanese resistance on Okinawa all but broken, US president Harry S Truman, in office for barely two months, met his military chiefs to discuss Japan's unconditional surrender. The only way to achieve this, said the US Army chief of staff, George C Marshall, was to invade Japan's home islands with a force of 750,000 men, an operation scheduled for 1 November. That would be followed up by an even bigger second invasion in the spring. Casualties were impossible to estimate, said Marshall, but given the huge number of men lost on Okinawa, and the fact that the enemy would fight even more fanatically in defence of Japan proper, it would be a "terrifying, bloody ordeal" for the servicemen involved.

TRUMAN'S DECISION TO AUTHORISE THE USE OF THE ATOM BOMB WAS DIRECTLY INFLUENCED BY THE BLOODBATH ON OKINAWA

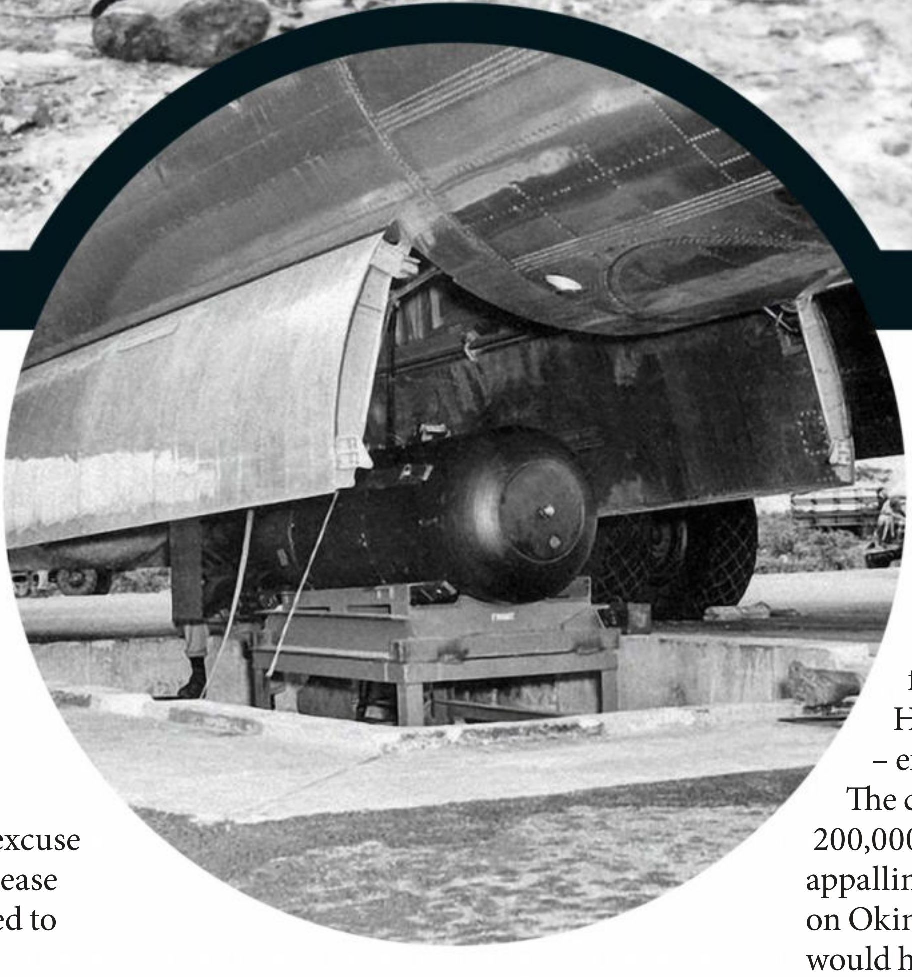
Was there *any* alternative to a ground invasion? asked Truman. Yes, said assistant secretary of war John J McCloy. To threaten to use the newly developed atom bomb, and if the threat was ignored, to drop it on a Japanese city. "I think," he added, "our moral position would be better if we gave them a specific warning of the bomb."

When challenged by others that the bomb might not go off, thus tarnishing America's prestige, McCloy responded: "All the scientists have told us that the thing will go off. It's just a matter of testing it out now, but they're quite certain from reports I've seen that this bomb is a success."

Truman was encouraged by this, but said no decision could be taken until they knew the bomb would work. Planning would continue for the invasion on 1 November. But everything changed on 16 July when Truman received word in Berlin, where he was attending the inter-Allied Potsdam conference with Stalin and other leaders, that the "first full scale test" of "the atomic fission bomb" in the New Mexico desert had been "successful beyond the most optimistic expectations". The memo added: "We now had the means to insure [the war's] speedy conclusion and save thousands of American lives."

USMC-NARA/COURTESY OF NAVAL HISTORY AND HERITAGE COMMAND NARA-80-G342629

War weary
Marines rest after a hard night's fighting, 29 May. More than 12,000 of their compatriots died on Okinawa, making the battle the bloodiest US campaign in the Pacific War



Deadly cargo
'Little Boy' is hoisted into the B-29 Superfortress *Enola Gay* before being dropped on Hiroshima

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On hearing of the successful test in New Mexico, Winston Churchill felt that the "nightmare picture" of an invasion of Japan – which might have cost a million American and 500,000 British lives – "had vanished" and "in its place was the vision, fair and bright it seemed, of the end of the whole war in one or two violent shocks". This "almost supernatural weapon" would give the Japanese "an excuse which would save their honour and release them from the obligation of being killed to the last fighting man".

Soon after, Truman signed the final ultimatum to Japan, 'the Potsdam Declaration'. It called upon Japan to agree to immediate unconditional surrender or face "prompt and utter destruction". When Tokyo ignored the ultimatum, Truman gave the order to drop an atom bomb on Hiroshima, "an army city" and "major quartermaster depot" with warehouses full of military supplies.

A million dead

Truman's decision to authorise the use of the atom bomb was directly influenced by the bloodbath on Okinawa. He feared that an invasion of Japan would look like "Okinawa from one end of Japan to the other", and that it would cost the US military more than a million dead and wounded. It would also kill countless Japanese soldiers and civilians. "My object," he wrote, "is to save as many American lives as possible but I also have a human feeling for the women and children of Japan."

On 6 August, the US B-29 Superfortress *Enola Gay* dropped the first atom bomb – 'Little Boy' – on Hiroshima. A second bomb – 'Fat Man' – exploded in Nagasaki three days later. The combined dead from the bombs were 200,000 Japanese, mostly civilians – an appalling total, but less than the number killed on Okinawa, and a fraction of those who would have died if the US had invaded mainland Japan.

Such a desperate course of action was no longer necessary. Japan agreed to surrender unconditionally on 14 August, much to the delight and relief of most Americans. "When the bombs dropped," wrote one 21-year-old American officer, "and the news began to circulate that we would not be obliged to run up the beaches near Tokyo assault-firing while being mortared and shelled, for all the fake manliness of our facades we cried with relief and joy. We were going to live. We were going to grow up to adulthood after all." H

Saul David is a military historian and broadcaster. His new book, *Crucible of Hell: Okinawa The Last Great Battle of the Second World War*, will be published by William Collins on 2 April

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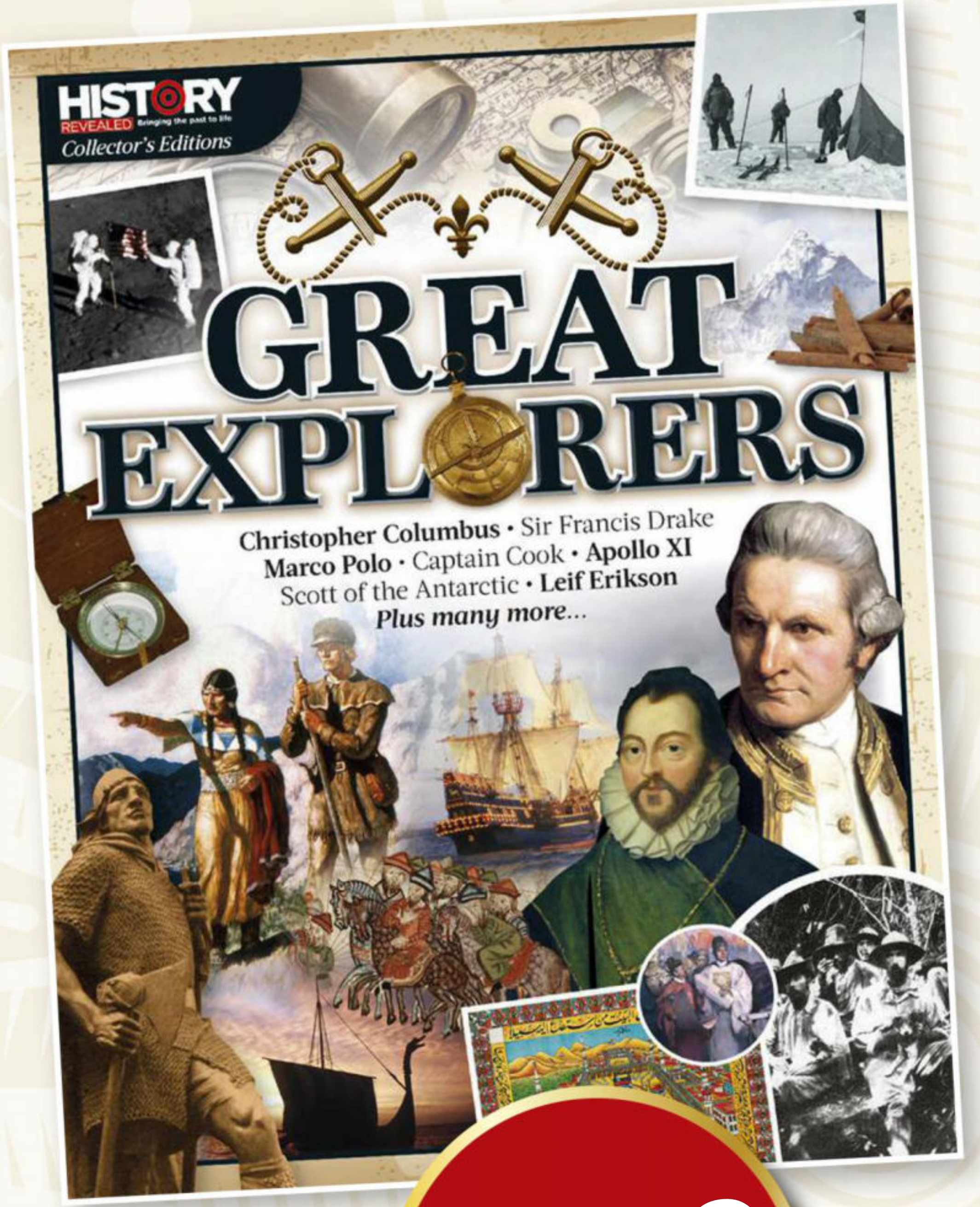

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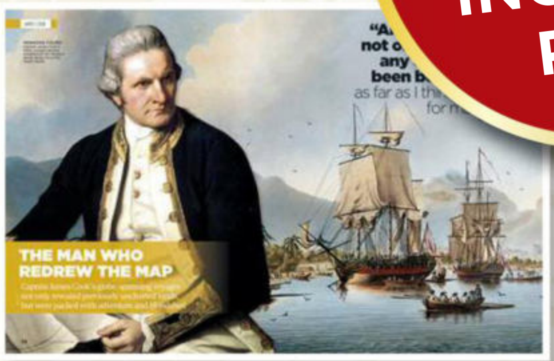

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BOOKS

FICTION

"Without the help of Africans, the journeys of Victorian explorers would not have been possible"

Petina Gappah on her novel *Out of Darkness, Shining Light* › page 77

HISTORICAL FICTION

"Can any book live up to such hype? In this case, the answer is an emphatic 'yes'"

Tracy Borman on the final instalment of Hilary Mantel's *Wolf Hall* trilogy, *The Mirror & the Light* › page 72

FOOD HISTORY

"Fake potatoes were made from Genoese sponge, filled with custard and rolled in chocolate"

Rachel Duffett discusses Annie Gray's *Victory in the Kitchen* › page 77

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"Understanding Hitler's personality is vital if we are to fully understand his actions"

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"Having finally won the vote, women were now concerned with the world they were making"

Fern Riddell on *Ladies Can't Climb Ladders* by Jane Robinson › page 75

MARINA CAVAZZA/ALAMY

INTERVIEW / GREG JENNER

"Getting thrilled, titillated or angry at celebrities can change how we think"

GREG JENNER tells Ellie Cawthorne about his star-studded new book, which shines a light on the history of celebrity, taking in fame, fortune and calamitous falls from grace

Ellie Cawthorne: You argue in the book that celebrity is a slippery concept. How do you define it?

Greg Jenner: When I began writing, I made the foolish assumption that there would be a clear-cut definition of celebrity. But a year-and-a-half later, I still couldn't find one. So I've come up with my own.

Firstly, a celebrity has to have something about them that's distinctive, recognisable and iconic. They are someone who is known to strangers, but they don't know the strangers in return – that's called 'parasocial intimacy' – and their fame is spread through the mass media: they appear in newspapers and on the telly and radio.

But it's not enough for someone to be professionally interesting – they also need to have a private life that is fascinating to the public. On this basis, I would make the controversial argument that Sir David Attenborough is *not* a celebrity because, while I know an enormous amount about his career, I don't know anything about his life.

Finally, I would argue that celebrity requires the existence of a commercial marketplace based on the person's fame – basically a micro-economy where other people can make money from them.

How far back do you trace our appetite for celebrity culture?

Whether it's the Kardashians, reality stars or social media influencers, people are often accused these days of being famous for being famous, but that's actually nothing new. People were saying exactly the same thing back in the 18th century. In his 1786 book *The Age of Genius!* Thomas Busby basically moaned that the good old days of people being famous for proper reasons were gone, and now there was just a load of pretty women in nice dresses.

GREG JENNER
DEAD FAMOUS
An Unexpected History of Celebrity
from Bronze Age to Silver Screen

Dead Famous: An Unexpected History of Celebrity from Bronze Age to Silver Screen
by Greg Jenner
(Orion, 400 pages, £18.99)

I would argue that celebrity culture really began in the early 1700s, when there was a surge in what's called the 'public sphere' in Britain and France. Suddenly, people realised that they were part of a wider society and they wanted to join in. In the cities, there was a new energy and liveliness – people gossiping in taverns, coffee houses and theatres. Around the same time, there's also a switch towards slightly more dull royals, and you see a movement away from courts as the centres of spectacle. Increasingly, the patrons who commissioned the creative arts weren't royals but ordinary people.

But while I argue that celebrity is in no way new, it has undoubtedly accelerated. Celebrity in the 18th century obviously had nowhere near the same kind of intensity and neon energy as in the modern age. Technology has played an enormous part in that. The 19th century supercharged celebrity in ways that made the 18th century look quite parochial. For example, trains and steamships meant that you could start doing transatlantic tours. Dickens made [the equivalent of] around £30m touring America. And of course, in the 20th century, radio, movies and television arrived, and suddenly a celebrity could reach audiences across the globe.

Did you identify any character traits that made someone a good candidate for becoming a celebrity?

There are some people in my book who would have probably ended up famous regardless of how they tried it. They had charisma. There was something just innately fascinating or naturally alluring about them. Someone like Lord Byron would fall into this category. Admittedly, he had advantages that others didn't, but he also oozed charisma as this radical, sexy, scandalous, romantic figure. If he hadn't made it in poetry, I think he would have made it another way.

On the other hand, there were people like Edmund Kean, whose story is just extraordinary. He was a total nobody – an alcoholic actor living a hand-to-mouth existence. At one point, Kean and his pregnant wife walked 180 miles from Birmingham to Swansea in the summer heat for a gig, sleeping rough along the way because they couldn't afford to stay in taverns.

But then, out of nowhere, he had an incredible breakthrough. The Drury Lane Theatre was in huge financial trouble. They were throwing mud at the wall, so they found some random bloke in Exeter (Kean) and decided to take a chance on him. It's the equivalent of finding a street busker and putting them on stage in Las Vegas. But, believe it or not, it worked! Kean's opening performance went amazingly, and by a stroke of good luck, a couple of influential journalists were there and wrote incredible reviews. Within a week Kean was known throughout London, within a month he was a superstar. He went on to become one of the defining actors of the 19th century, but he could just as easily have died in a ditch.

You argue that we tend to apply very binary moral standards to our celebrities. How so?

This is something you see playing out on Twitter, but it's been happening since at least the 1700s. Celebrities are forged into heroes because people need role models and rallying figures. Take George Washington. He was turned into a celebrity superhero, and by the end of his life, biographies were saying things like, "He never lied as a child." That's ridiculous – of course he did! But he was turned into a saint.

However, as well as creating heroes, society could also create

PROFILE

Greg Jenner is a public historian, broadcaster and historical consultant for *Horrible Histories*. He hosts the BBC podcast *You're Dead to Me* and is the author of *A Million Years in a Day: A Curious History of Everyday Life, From the Stone Age to the Phone Age* (Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 2015)

PHOTOGRAPH BY
FRAN MONKS

villains, and on the flipside were the bad boys – the highwaymen and criminals. Though we don't know who he was, I would call Jack the Ripper a celebrity. Even at the time, there was a bizarre kind of commercial economy attached to him. People paid money to tour the crime scenes, or see wax effigies of his victims. That is celebrity. It may be a cruel, dark, twisted form of fame, but it still ticks all the boxes.

Scandal has often fuelled the fires of fame. But what determined whether it supercharged a celebrity or destroyed them?
It could certainly go either way. Mae West is an example of someone who actively used scandal as a springboard to become more famous. In 1926, she put on a play called *Sex* in which she played a sex worker. The newspapers were outraged and West was thrown in jail for indecency. But loads of people came to the play and they loved her. She was bawdy with a really fresh and edgy sense of humour. As West once famously quipped, she "climbed the ladder of success wrong by wrong" rather than rung by rung, which is a lovely pun, and she ended up a Hollywood icon. For her, being a bit of a deviant who could titillate and thrill audiences was a route into people's hearts.

But while some people were able to make scandal part of their personal brand, for others, it was hugely destructive. There were plenty of women in the 18th and 19th centuries who wrote what were called "whores' biographies" – basically kiss-and-tell stories. The most famous is probably the courtesan Harriette Wilson. Selling your story could be a lucrative business. Wilson blackmailed her former clients, threatening to write about them unless they paid her off, to which her former lover the Duke of Wellington reportedly famously responded: "Publish and be damned." Her book was a huge bestseller because, of course, people were desperate to read about the sex life of the Duke of Wellington. But in the long term, women like Wilson generally ended up dying in poverty, as they were never allowed to become respectable. A lot of them later tried to write poetry or novels, but it was too late because their reputations were tarnished.

Fame has frequently been unwanted or come at a price – can you give some examples of how damaging it could be?
The ancient poet Virgil describes fame as a giant bird-like monster covered with eyes, tongues and ears to represent gossip and rumour. This monster stalks the land and never sleeps, hunting people down like a ravenous predator. It's a terrifying idea, like some horrendous Godzilla painted by Dali.

It's important to remember that fame was something that could be done to people – it could be attributed to you against your wishes. History has loads of examples of people who despised being famous, and found it really intrusive and troubling – Florence Nightingale, for example. Even though people lauded her as a hero, and named ships and pubs and children after her, she absolutely hated that fame arrived on her doorstep.

Then you get people like the philosopher and novelist Jean-Jacques Rousseau, who was a massive star in the 1760s. He'd written this novel called *Julie; ou, la Nouvelle Heloise,* and people just loved it – they cried, wrote him letters and began turning up at his house to say hello. But faced with all this adoration, he started to lose his mind, and went into a weird, paranoid delusion where he no longer trusted his friends. He would see perfectly nice paintings of himself done by reputable artists, and think they were monstrous attacks on him. He refused to speak to one woman for a year because she'd got an engraving of him in her house. He lost all perspective and he ended up in a conspiratorial headspace, obsessed with the idea that the world was judging him.

" The poet Virgil described fame as a giant bird-like monster that stalked the land and never slept, hunting people down like a ravenous predator. It's a terrifying idea **"**

Sex sells Mae West embraced a subversive sex appeal in order to catapult herself to fame – but other celebrities found themselves burned by the limelight

Quite often the attention from fans could be crippling. The 18th-century actress Mary Robinson couldn't go to a hat shop without hundreds of people waiting outside to see what she was buying and trying to grab hold of her. Dickens was similarly hounded by crowds everywhere he went, particularly when he was touring in America. He had people breaking into his hotel room and was even targeted by a stalker. Then there was Florence Lawrence, the first ever Hollywood star to be named in the 1910s (prior to that, movie stars were almost always anonymous). Her manager faked her death, and when she turned up alive she was mobbed by fans. Ironically, she was very nearly crushed to death and ended up with post-traumatic stress disorder. I'm not saying that fame is always horrible, but there is an element of the Faustian pact to it.

Has writing this book made you look differently at how we engage with celebrity culture today?
The truth is that I originally intended to write a slightly snarkier book. But by pure coincidence, David Bowie died on the morning I sat down to begin writing. After spending all day listening to the radio, looking at Twitter and reading obituaries, I realised that Bowie had had an enormous impact that went beyond changing the tides of culture and history. He really influenced people's personal lives and how they felt about themselves. And it opened my eyes to how celebrity culture – perhaps through music, a favourite author, or a movie that changes you in some way – helps us discover more about who we are.

Getting thrilled or titillated or angry about strangers we don't know can change how we think about a whole spectrum of things – societal roles, sex, gender, morality, drugs and crime. We use those strangers as sounding boards for our own opinions and also as role models for who we want to be. Celebrities quite often cross the line, and sometimes, that will reinforce where the line is. But, if we like them enough, they'll move the line, and we'll end up redefining the boundaries of acceptability. So while celebrity culture isn't necessarily always a good thing, we can't dismiss it as superficial or vacuous. It's incredibly important in shaping our morals, values and ethics. H

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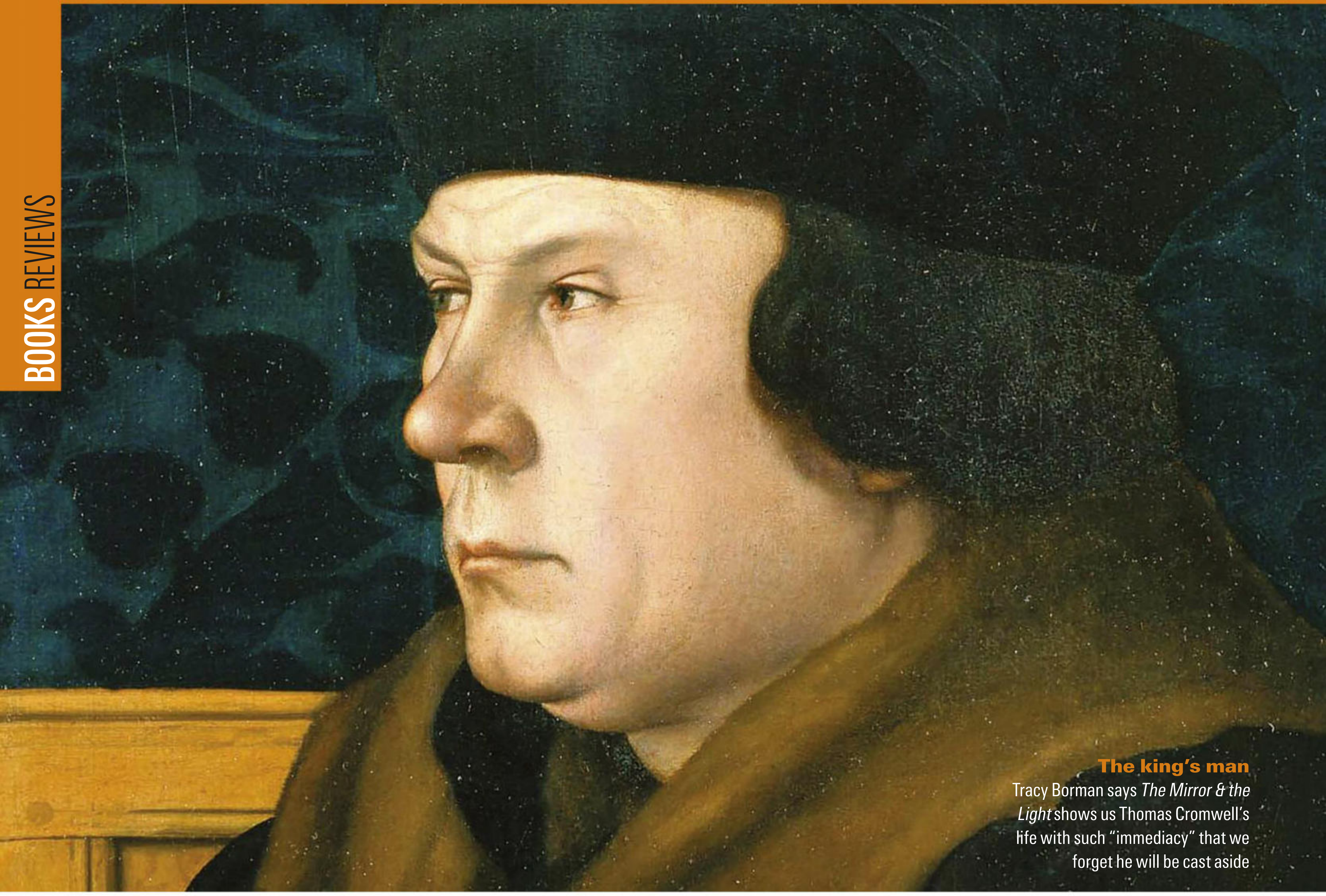


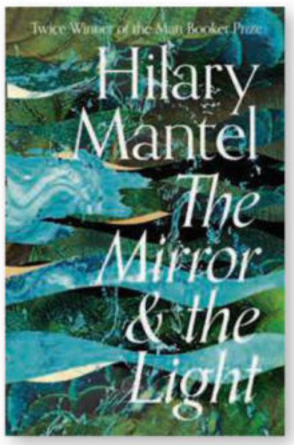
The king's man
Tracy Borman says *The Mirror & the Light* shows us Thomas Cromwell's life with such "immediacy" that we forget he will be cast aside

ALAMY

HISTORICAL FICTION

Life before the fall

TRACY BORMAN salutes the conclusion to Hilary Mantel's Thomas Cromwell trilogy – a masterpiece that immerses readers in the dangerous world of Henry VIII's court



The Mirror & the Light
by Hilary Mantel
Fourth Estate,
912 pages, £25

Ever since the publication of the second book in the *Wolf Hall* trilogy, *Bring Up the Bodies*, in 2012, speculation has been rife as to when the final instalment would appear. Then in May last year, a huge billboard went up in London's Leicester Square. Alongside the unmistakable Tudor rose design were the words, "So now get up", recognisable to *Wolf Hall* aficionados the world over as the first line of the trilogy. Not long afterwards, Mantel's publishers, Fourth Estate, confirmed March 2020 as the publication date. Diehard fans had an agonising 10 more months to wait, but at least the end was in sight at last.

Can any book live up to such hype? In the case of *The Mirror & the Light*, the answer is an emphatic yes. The third book in the trilogy covers the last four years of Thomas Cromwell's life, from 1536–40. It begins exactly where the second volume left off: with Anne Boleyn's bloodied remains on the scaffold at the Tower of London. Within the first few paragraphs, the eight years of waiting for this book to appear fade away and the reader is immediately transported back into the world of Henry VIII's right-hand man.

The same immediacy – and intimacy – of Mantel's extraordinary writing style is apparent from the start, helping us to set aside our knowledge of the horrors to come and live each day, each hour, with Cromwell as if we too have no idea what lies ahead. Only the occasional fleeting reference to a character or event that will have profound consequences for him later in the narrative leaves us with what Cromwell himself describes as "a chilly trickle of dismay, like water creeping into a cellar".

We first encounter the protagonist in his 50th year. He has "the same small quick eyes, the same thickset imperturbable body; the same schedules". But if his appearance has changed little, his responsibilities have grown immeasurably since he freed his royal master from his troublesome, son-less second wife. As well as being principal secretary, chancellor of the exchequer, privy councillor, master of the rolls and master of the jewel house, he soon inherits the title of lord privy seal from Anne Boleyn's disgraced father. He is the 'second man in England' after the king.

Mantel paints a vivid picture of the burdens, as well as the power, that come with such a staggering portfolio of duties. He rises at five each morning and is still working long after dark. Often, he sleeps in a chamber near his royal master so that he can be woken if his presence or advice are required during the night. It would be an exhausting schedule for one of much younger years, and the toll it takes on Cromwell can increasingly be seen as the narrative progresses. But so can the glittering prizes that it brings – and those that remain just beyond his grasp, urging him on to greater efforts. Danger is always present, though. The book's title is a reference to the fragility of life in the king's service. "If Henry is the mirror, he is the pale actor who sheds no lustre of his own, but spins in a reflected light. If the light moves he is gone."

At a mammoth 912 pages, this is the weightiest book of the trilogy by far. Just occasionally, the narrative seems in danger of becoming too meandering – when, for example, we follow the protagonist's apparently idle musings and fantasies. But then, in reading them, one can easily believe that every thought that passes through Cromwell's mind – invades his dreams, even – may be to a purpose.

The length of the book is justified by the number of events that it covers. The four years leading up to Cromwell's demise made up one of the most turbulent periods in English history. Barely had Anne Boleyn been laid to rest than Henry had married wife number three, Jane Seymour. A year after the wedding, she gave him the son he so desperately craved (the future Edward VI) but died a few days later. The hunt was soon on for her replacement, and Cromwell was quickest off the mark. But while he had found the perfect diplomatic match in Anne of Cleves, he had disastrously misjudged the monarch's willingness to set love aside in the interests of politics. This was not the end for Cromwell, but it did expose his vulnerability – and gave the Howards a chance to push forward a candidate of their own.

While Henry's marital shenanigans were playing out, his kingdom was riven by dissent and rebellion, sparked by his sweeping religious changes – the dissolution of the monasteries in particular. Of acute concern to Cromwell was that it was his head for which the rebels were calling. But the greatest danger lay closer to home, in the myriad relationships with his fellow courtiers. As the narrative progresses, the distinction between allies and adversaries becomes increasingly blurred. Cromwell's protégé Wriothesley (nicknamed 'Call-Me') is typical of the rapacious, self-serving politician whose loyalty was as flexible as his conscience. Cromwell's ambiguous relationship with Princess Mary is particularly well drawn, starkly illustrating how easily trifling, innocent gestures could be twisted into treason.

> **"Hilary Mantel paints a vivid picture of the burdens, as well as the power, that come with Thomas Cromwell's staggering portfolio of duties"**

Mantel gives new life to the well-rehearsed stories, but it is in shining a light on the minutiae of daily life in Henry's court that she is at her most masterful. The research that underpins this novel is truly impressive. No detail is overlooked: from the names of individual servants and officials, to the weaving in of quotes from ambassadorial reports, trial papers, account books and other contemporary sources. Looking through the extensive cast of characters, only a handful are purely fictional, and all are impeccably researched.

As well as vividly evoking Thomas Cromwell and his world, this focus on the day-to-day business of serving the king helps to obscure what most readers will know is the inevitable conclusion. Realising from the outset that the protagonist will die would doom most books to failure. But Mantel's achievement is to make us see everything as Cromwell would have seen it, to live each hour as he would have done – sometimes fearing, but never knowing for certain what was to come.

Tracy Borman is the author of *Thomas Cromwell: The Untold Story of Henry VIII's Most Faithful Servant* (Hodder & Stoughton, 2014)

RUNAWAY SUCCESS

Tracy Borman on how *Wolf Hall* won a global readership

Before 2009, if you mentioned the name 'Cromwell', most people would have assumed you meant Oliver, the Civil War leader. His earlier namesake, Thomas, was far less well known. Those who had heard of him tended to view him as a villain: a grasping, cynical politician who destroyed the monasteries to line his own pockets and ruthlessly dispatched anyone who stood in his path.

All of that changed with the publication of *Wolf Hall*, the first book in a trilogy about Henry VIII's right-hand man by Hilary Mantel. Thomas Cromwell was one of the most unlikely protagonists imaginable, yet Mantel transformed him into a hero of our time: loyal, wise, humorous and even a bit sexy – a self-confessed ruffian made good through sheer ability and hard work. Her portrayal was so compelling, her research so painstaking, that it transformed even professional historians' opinion of Thomas Cromwell – myself included.

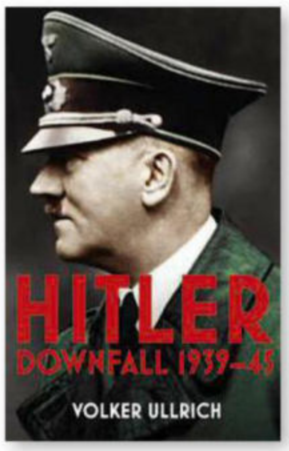
Popular though historical fiction is – the Tudor period in particular – nobody could have predicted the global phenomenon that the book and its sequel, *Bring Up the Bodies*, would become. Both won the Man Booker Prize and sold millions of copies worldwide. It was not long before they were optioned by the BBC and turned into a lavish drama starring Mark Rylance. Mantel's Cromwell also transferred to the stage with Ben Miles as the lead, and played to sold-out audiences on both sides of the Atlantic.

Aside from crafting three of the most exquisite works of literary fiction, Mantel's achievement has been in making Thomas Cromwell a household name. When Danny Dyer took part in the BBC's *Who Do You Think You Are?*, the fact that he was a direct descendant of Cromwell caused as much of a flutter as his royal connections. With the release of the final instalment of the trilogy, there is sure to be a new wave of Cromwell-mania and his popularity shows no sign of abating. To paraphrase a line in *Wolf Hall*, now that he is made, he cannot be unmade.

NAZI GERMANY

Mind of a tyrant

ROGER MOORHOUSE welcomes the conclusion to a biography that offers fresh insights into how the personality of Adolf Hitler shaped his actions during the Second World War



Hitler: Downfall 1939–1945
by Volker Ullrich
Bodley Head, 848 pages, £30

In the worlds of publishing and the media, Hitler and the Nazis are often described as the gift that keeps on giving, such is the volume of books and TV documentaries devoted to them every year. Yet, while the vast majority of that output is little more than a rehash and retread of previous work done by other scholars, a few offerings stand out for their rigour or originality.

One such is Volker Ullrich's Hitler biography, the second volume of which has just appeared. One might have imagined that after Ian Kershaw's monumental two-volume biography from a generation ago, there was little more to be said about the infamous German dictator, but that would be mistaken.

Of course, opinion on Hitler has not shifted in the meantime, and is very unlikely to shift anytime soon, but differences of approach and the choice of sources can nonetheless bring subtle nuances to the established narrative. To a large extent, Ullrich follows the standard trajectory. This second volume tells the story of Hitler and his war from the invasion of Poland in 1939 to the grim denouement of 1945.

Yet, while much of the narrative will be familiar to readers, Ullrich's frequent asides and diversions, his forays into social, political and military matters, and his liberal use of a wealth of first-hand accounts lend his account a welcome freshness.

Most importantly, perhaps, Ullrich is interested in what we might call 'Hitler the Man'. Peculiarly, this is an aspect that some of his predecessors have preferred to shy away from, in preference for 'Hitler the Politician' or 'Hitler the Warlord', out of fear, perhaps, that humanising their subject would be interpreted by some readers as sympathy.

Of course, part of that dehumanisation of Hitler came from the man himself, who liked to present his life beyond the political as an irrelevance. As he once boasted: "My bride is Germany." On another level, it comes from us: as a self-defence mechanism, an attempt to set Hitler apart as 'not like us', a toxic and contagious 'other'.

But as Ullrich convincingly demonstrates, that human aspect – the key traits and flaws of Hitler's personality – is vital if we are fully to understand Hitler's actions. In terms of his character, it was a combination of his inflexibility, his nose for his enemies' weak points and his all-or-nothing gambler's instinct – along with wider circumstances – that drove him on to his successes, and also ushered in his murderous, calamitous failure.

Hitler then was all too human. But Ullrich is keen to deny his exceptionalism in another sense. Far from being a historical anomaly, he concludes, Hitler is a "cautionary example" for humanity: an object lesson in the fragility of democracy, the seductive allure of authoritarianism, and the perilously thin divide between civilisation and barbarism. We marginalise him at our peril.

Together with the earlier volume, published in 2016, Ullrich's work is much more than just a biography. It is a work of synthesis, certainly, but a thorough and thoroughly readable one nonetheless, which stands muster alongside Hitler's most significant earlier biographers: Bullock, Toland, Fest and Kershaw. Elegantly written, engaging and insightful, it is a new standard work on its subject. **H**

> **"Hitler is an object lesson in the thin divide between civilisation and barbarism. We marginalise him at our peril"**

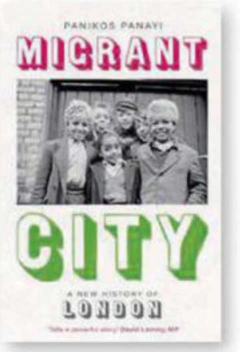
Roger Moorhouse's latest book is *First to Fight: The Polish War 1939* (Bodley Head, 2019)

GETTY IMAGES

Man behind the monster While Hitler downplayed the importance of the personal, such as his relationship with Eva Braun (left), Volker Ullrich's new biography puts his character at the centre of its narrative

MIGRATION

Capital gains



Migrant City: A New History of London
by Panikos Panayi
Yale, 384 pages, £20

Statistics, potted migrant biographies and histories jostle for space in this ambitious, but rather turgid, comparative study of London's immigration history. The book weaves multiple community histories through 12 broad themes, ranging from housing, employment, politics and religion to food, music and sport. Too often the book sacrifices depth and nuance for breadth.

Panikos Panayi argues that London's exceptionalism is based on the length and continuity of its immigration history, the superdiversity of its migrant population and the concentration of the migrant presence, with more than half of all incomers spread geographically, economically and socially throughout the metropolis. No discussion of the histories of other cities is offered to support this argument.

Similarly, there is no attempt to define terms such as globalisation, superdiversity, multicultural and cosmopolitanism, or to unpack scholarly debates around these concepts. The study is marred by an indeterminate time frame which, despite a focus on the 19th and 20th centuries, reaches far beyond, too. There is a lack of clarity about who exactly are the book's subjects – first-generation or second-generation immigrants, sojourners or settlers?

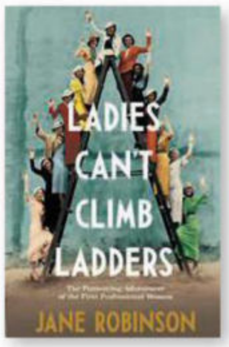
What is 'new' about this *New History of London*? Not as much as the subtitle suggests. Panayi employs familiar tropes of the ethnic entrepreneur, ghetto, migrant East End, cheap labour, foreign bankers, black footballers and musicians. He borrows from existing scholarship and well-established primary sources, including community archives, government papers and autobiographies. The study feels dated, not just due to the adoption of terms such as 'West Indian' rather than 'African Caribbean', but also because of an emphasis on assimilation and integration.

The book paints a positive picture of migrant social mobility, assimilation and integration, with little discussion of the tensions that exist within and between migrant communities. Yet this optimistic interpretation has been undermined by the anti-immigrant 'hostile environment' and by the ethno-nationalism that Brexit unleashed, to which not even London is immune, but on which this study is conspicuously silent.

Shompa Lahiri, research fellow at Queen Mary, University of London

WOMEN'S HISTORY

New heights



Ladies Can't Climb Ladders: The Pioneering Adventures of the First Professional Women
by Jane Robinson
Doubleday, 368 pages, £20

The release of any new history book by Jane Robinson is always a moment for those interested in the history of women to sit up and take notice.

Her latest marks the anniversary of the Sex Disqualification (Removal) Act of 1919. This allowed many women officially to enter the 'elite' worlds of medicine, law, academia, engineering, the church and architecture for the very first time. At the beginning of the roaring 20s, these key institutions became legally accessible to women, who wanted the opportunities to qualify, earn and progress alongside their male counterparts.

For those inspired by the 2018 suffrage centenary celebrations, Robinson's book is a welcome continuation of the story. Having finally won the right to vote, women were now concerned with the world they were making for themselves. Focusing on women whose stories are largely unknown, Robinson provides a fascinating and inspiring look at how women entered the professional world.

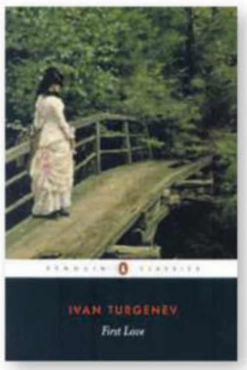
How about the story of Margaret Partridge? A girls' school maths teacher who created a new career for herself as a lighting engineer, by 1927 she was known as "the first woman to wire an English village for electric light". Or Stella Thomas, the first west African woman to be called to the English bar in 1933. She became a courageous legal orator, campaigning against colonial oppression.

As Robinson states: "The history of progress is full of transgressors," and her book is filled with stories of ordinary women who achieved extraordinary things. It's a must read for anyone interested in the history of equality.

Fern Riddell, cultural historian and broadcaster specialising in sex and suffrage

THE CLASSIC BOOK

Peter Frankopan on an evocative novella set in pre-revolutionary Russia



First Love
by Ivan Turgenev
(first published 1860)

People who love history sometimes make a distinction between fiction and non-fiction when they think about the books that have influenced them. But novelists, poets and creative writers are products of their time – their perspectives can not only be illuminating but also important.

Indeed, in some respects, it can even be more useful to read what someone wrote at the time than the work of historians writing many centuries later. History is all about the primary sources, after all.

I fell in love with the history of pre-revolutionary Russia when I was a teenager, and tried to learn about the art and music of the late 19th and early 20th centuries, as well as reading everything I could find in the school library.

So perhaps it is no surprise that my classic book nomination is *First Love* by Ivan Turgenev. It's a little slip of a novel, but one that captures a different time and a different place so well that it made me want to become a historian. The story focuses on the complex emotions of a young man who is growing up and trying to make sense of his feelings for Zinaida, a beautiful, charismatic and elusive woman who is five years older.

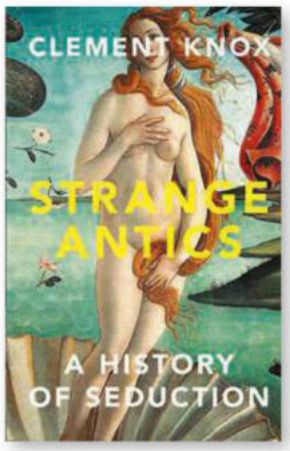
The themes of yearning and confusion, of frustration and hurt are beautifully captured by Turgenev, who was drawing on his own experiences. It left a real impression on me – and it's a book I go back to often to remind me of how I too fell in love: with history.

Peter Frankopan is the author of several books including *The Silk Roads: A New History of the World* (Bloomsbury, 2015)

SEX & LOVE

Bedroom manners

ELEANOR JANEGA applauds a history of seduction that explores what this phenomenon reveals about power dynamics between the sexes in the western world

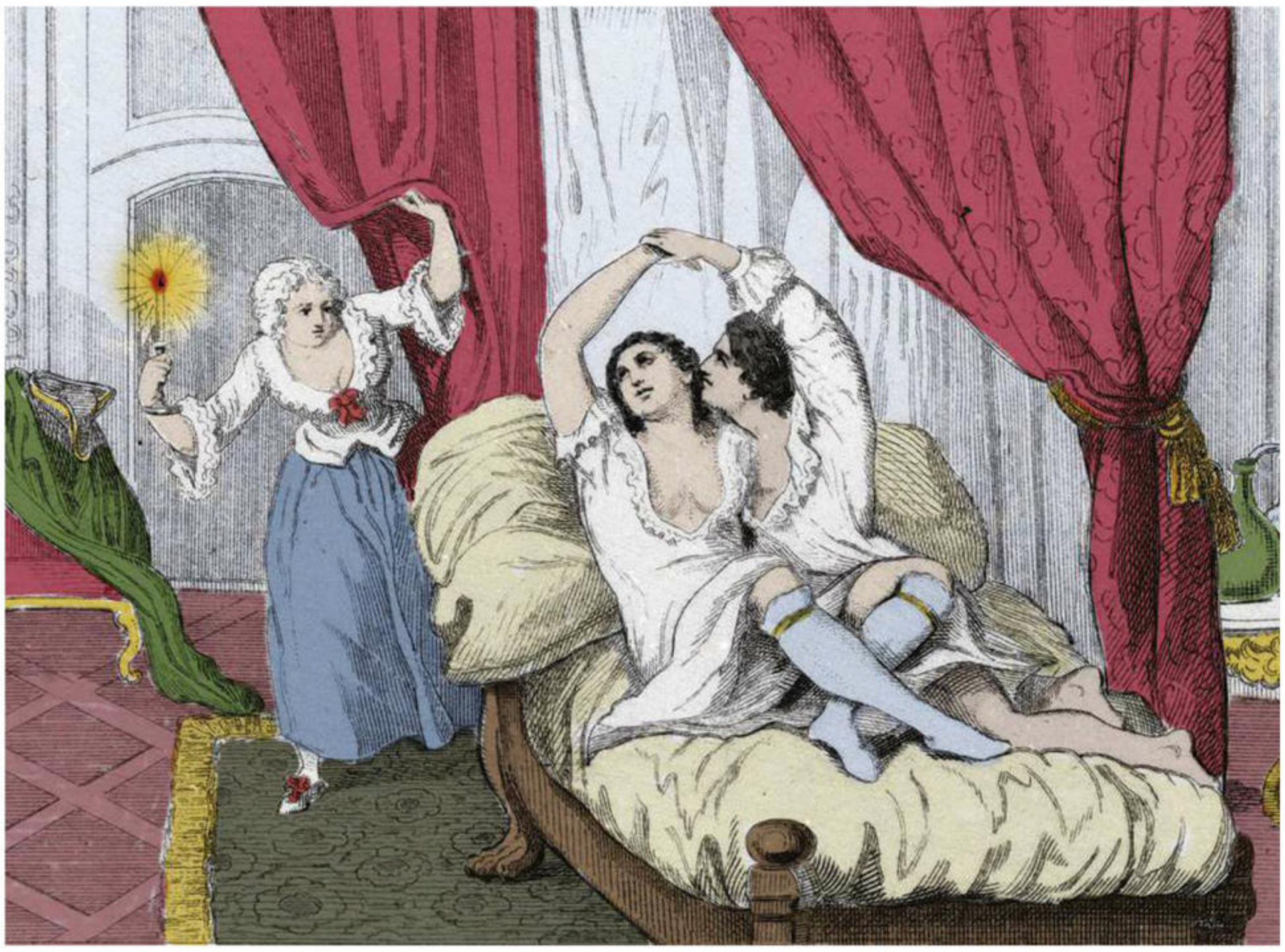


Strange Antics: A History of Seduction
by Clement Knox
William Collins,
528 pages, £25

In *Strange Antics*, Clement Knox sets out to discuss the history of seduction as a post-Enlightenment and "modern" phenomenon that "serves as vehicle for the exploration of modern values, modern experiences, and modern concerns". In this context, seduction is a specific action where perpetrators extract consent for sex from the women (and specifically women) they desire in a way that degrades the seduced.

Knox does this by tracing a narrative that begins in the late 17th century with the infamous sexual provocateur and criminal Colonel Francis Charteris in London. He then crosses the continent to find Casanova in Italy, follows Lord Byron to the fabled Villa Diodati where Mary Shelley composed her masterpiece *Frankenstein*, and skips across the Atlantic to follow the boxing and sexual careers of Jack Johnson, the first black heavyweight boxing champion of the world.

During the course of this journey, Knox hits on some points that are particularly relevant now. His discussion of the panic about a European slave trade in English girls in late 19th-century London, for example, closely mirrors current concerns about sex trafficking. Similarly, Knox's discussion of America's miscegenation laws and the brutal treatment of Johnson for transgressing racial sexual barriers seems timely given the return of eugenic belief and false racial prejudices masquerading as science that we have recently seen. Underlying both these issues is modern society's obsession with protecting the theoretical sexual purity of the 'right' kind of woman. In Knox's words, "[All] men could be seducers; only certain types of women could be seduced." Knox is able to deftly show here that the 'right' woman is to be understood as white, middle class and sexually disinterested.



Sexual adventurer A 19th-century engraving created to illustrate his memoirs shows the Venetian adventurer Giacomo Casanova (1725–98) with two of those he charmed, Veronique and Annette

BRIDGEMAN

At moments, Knox's focus on modern seduction narratives does his book a disservice. His discussion of the *ciscisbeo* culture in 19th-century Italy (a sort of official live-in valet-cum-lover for upper-class young Italian brides) treats the phenomenon as an oddity rather than a holdover from medieval courtly love culture. Indeed, Byron's chafing under the strictures of his time as a *ciscisbeismo* would be perfectly framed as a modern man's rejection of a medieval sexual dynamic.

At times, Knox also seems to forget the terms of his own carefully argued framework for concepts of seduction and sexuality as a societal construct. He asserts, for example, in his discussion of Mary Wollstonecraft's societal rejection for her attempts to practise 'free love' that she was "forced… to confront some basic truths about human relationships". How are we to accept a societal construct is a "basic truth", especially when Knox has just reminded us of the sexually permissive culture that existed in Tahiti prior to European colonial intervention? (If Tahitian women could enjoy sex free from the bonds of shame and monogamous strictures, then it is clear that no universal 'truth' exists.)

But these are the quibbles of the salon and overall Knox has written a diverting work. His prose is elegant, even if he is overly fond of the word 'chimerical'. Readers interested in sexual history will find *Strange Antics* a pleasurable and absorbing book. **H**

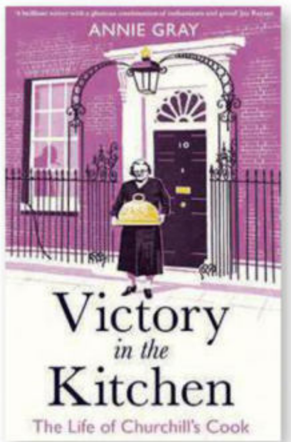
> **"The panic about a European slave trade in English girls in late 19th-century London closely mirrors current concerns about sex trafficking"**

Eleanor Janega is a medieval historian at LSE specialising in sex and society, and the author of the *Going Medieval* blog

CULINARY HISTORY

Food for thought

RACHEL DUFFETT enjoys a book profiling the life and times of Georgina Landemare, Winston Churchill's family cook



Victory in the Kitchen: The Life of Churchill's Cook
by Annie Gray
Profile, 400 pages, £16.99

On 30 May 1940, Winston Churchill's daughter Mary recorded in her diary: "The evacuation of Dunkirk. Dinner with Shirley." That diary entry isn't a bad summary of the organising principle of this book: the juxtaposition of momentous national events with the domestic particulars of eating. Gray has used the life of Georgina Landemare, the Churchills' cook from 1940 to 1954, as a lens through which the wider histories of food, dining, war, gender and class might be examined.

Landemare wrote a memoir recounting her long career in the service of others, but sadly destroyed most of it, leaving only a fragment covering her early life for posterity. This means that Georgina herself is one of the less vivid characters in the book. Her personality and spirit are somewhat overshadowed by the Churchills, whose wealth of remaining diaries, letters and accounts ensure that we are in no doubt of what they felt, did and, indeed, ate. Landemare may not figure as the leading light in this wide-ranging social history, but Gray does convey a powerful sense of the thousands of 'Georginas' who toiled away in the great houses of the wealthy, and whose lives and experiences have attracted relatively little attention.

The title of the book is suggestive of a narrower focus than the actual narrative, which covers matters from the hunger of a Paris besieged by the Prussians in 1870–71 to the luxurious, American-influenced recipes of the 1930s included in Georgina's own cookery book. The latter period's 'Southern Gumbo' and 'Waldorf Salad' sound far more appetising than the rat salami and elephant steaks – "tough, coarse and oily" – consumed during the former.

Georgina married a Parisian chef and the exploration of the comparative commercial opportunities for their skills in the early 20th century is fascinating: Georgina's sex and nationality counted against her in the world where French men were the epitome of desirability in the kitchen.

Gray has wonderful detail on the shifting fashions in fine dining, including descriptions of *trompe d'œil* sweet entremets such as potatoes made from Genoese sponge, filled with custard and rolled in chocolate – complete with fake eyes. Such excesses mostly ended with the Second World War, when wartime economies began to take their toll across society, even on those at No 10. Despite the continued supply of delicacies such as Churchill's favourite Stilton, underwhelming utility meals were commonplace and delights such as "sea kale and jugged hare" were generally unappreciated by their consumers.

> **" In this social history, Gray conveys a powerful sense of the thousands of 'Georginas', cooks who toiled away in the great houses of the wealthy "**

The book represents an ambitious project, covering everything from straw-plaiting in Tring to the Churchills' alcohol bills via a whistlestop tour of the histories of eating, women's employment, poverty, industrialisation and urbanisation. The breadth of the content means that, in places, the book reads more as an assemblage of fascinating facts rather than a gripping biography or detailed food history. The extent and diversity of Gray's research, however, sustains the reader's interest, even if the book can feel rather more like an appetising display of hors d'oeuvres than the full entrée.

Rachel Duffett is author of *The Stomach for Fighting: Food and the Soldiers of the Great War* (Manchester University Press, 2012)

FROM FACT TO FICTION

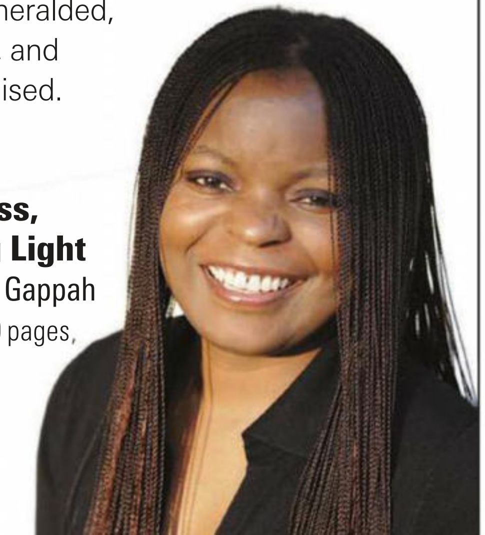
Hiking into history

Petina Gappah on her new novel that charts a mammoth journey across 19th-century Africa

Can you tell us about the real story that inspired your book?
Out of Darkness, Shining Light is inspired by what happened after the death of the Scottish explorer, David Livingstone, in 1873. He died some months after being found in Ujiji by the American journalist, Henry Morton Stanley, a story that made sensational news headlines. What happened after his death was even more sensational. His African companions, who numbered about 70, buried his heart under a tree in what is now northern Zambia, dried his body and carried it from the interior to the east African coast, so that he could be shipped to England for burial at Westminster Abbey. It took them nine months of great hardship to make the trip.

What sources did you draw on?
To understand daily life on Victorian expeditions, I drew on Livingstone and Stanley's own journals, as well as those of other Victorian explorers. For the journey of the companions, I relied extensively on an invaluable first-hand account from two of those who took part, Abdullah Susi and James Chuma. I was also extremely fortunate to track down interviews that some of the other companions gave at the turn of the last century, and spent many delightful hours reading Livingstone's letters in the National Library of Scotland.

What are the biggest misconceptions about 19th-century Africa?
That the Victorian explorers did it all alone. Without the help of the many Africans they travelled with, their journeys would simply not have been possible. Another misconception is that there were no women in these expeditions. One way to correct these misunderstandings is to tell the stories of this period not only from the perspective of the Western explorers, but also from the perspectives of those who were unheralded, silenced, and marginalised.



MARINA CAVAZZA

Out of Darkness, Shining Light
by Petina Gappah
(Faber, 320 pages, £16.99)

BBC HISTORY MAGAZINE LIVE

Medieval Life and Death
History Day

York St John University
16 May 2020

Get the lowdown on everyday life in the medieval era with a day of talks from leading historians. The day will include five lectures, a buffet lunch and refreshments.

The speakers are:

Sally Dixon-Smith on love and marriage
Hannah Skoda on crime and violence
Chris Woolgar on food
Emma J Wells on religion and faith
Elma Brenner on disease and medicine

Ticket prices:

£95 Subscribers to *BBC History Magazine**
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* **Subscribers benefit from discounted tickets.** Simply have your subscriber number to hand and enter where prompted. (You'll find your subscriber number on the address label of your magazine. Digital subscribers will find theirs on the subscription email confirmation from *BuySubscriptions.com*.)

TERMS AND CONDITIONS We reserve the right to replace any speaker with an alternative of equal stature in the unlikely event that they are unable to attend. Please let us know when booking of any special access requirements. Tickets are non-refundable and places are limited. There will be a transaction fee of £2.50 for postal tickets. There will be no transaction fee for e-tickets.

**Calls cost 7p per minute plus your network's access charge

Book tickets online at **historyextra.com/events** or call **0844 995 1374****

Save the date

The End of World War Two
History Day

25 July 2020
Knowledge Centre,
British Library

Save the date

Chester History Weekend

16–18 October 2020
Chester Town Hall

Save the date

Winchester History Weekend

6–8 November 2020
Winchester Guildhall

GETTY IMAGES/DREAMSTIME

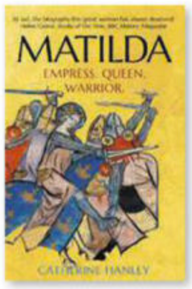
historyextra.com/events

ALSO ON THE BOOKSHELF

WORDS BY **ELLIE CAWTHORNE** AND **MATT ELTON**

MEDIEVAL

Matilda: Empress, Queen, Warrior
by Catherine Hanley
(Yale, 277 pages, £10.99)
NOW IN PAPERBACK



Medieval powerhouse

As the daughter of Henry I, Matilda had a strong claim to the English throne. But the nation was thrown into chaos when she became embroiled in a long and bitter fight for the crown with her cousin, Stephen. This fast-moving biography of one of the medieval world's great survivors examines the extent to which Matilda was blocked from becoming England's first queen regent because of her gender.

ANCIENT EGYPT

Ancient Egyptian Magic
by Christina Riggs
(Thames & Hudson, 208 pages, £14.95)

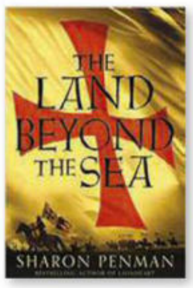
ANCIENT EGYPTIAN MAGIC
A HANDS-ON GUIDE
CHRISTINA RIGGS
Thames & Hudson

Spells and superstition

Want to make a woman fall in love? Remove the heart and gall of a shrew, pop the body in a cup of wine with blood from your little finger and make her drink it. Feeling ill? Get yourself a healing amulet. Need to predict the future? Better consult the oracle. This lively little guide is full of such advice, revealing how magical beliefs and practices were an important part of everyday life in ancient Egypt.

FICTION

The Land Beyond the Sea
by Sharon Penman
(Macmillan, 688 pages, £20)

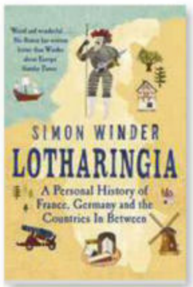


City under siege

In 1172, the Kingdom of Jerusalem – known as Outremer – lies in Christian hands. But the rule of King Baldwin looks ever-more shaky as Saladin sets his sights on the sacred city. From an author hailed by George RR Martin as "the strongest historical novelist working in the medieval period at present", this book imagines how life in Outremer unfolded under the threat of imminent attack.

TRAVEL

Lotharingia: A Personal History of France, Germany and the Countries In Between
by Simon Winder
(Picador, 504 pages, £12.99)
NOW IN PAPERBACK

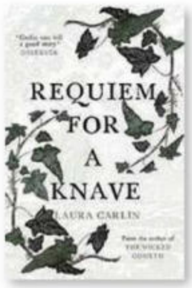

SIMON WINDER
LOTHARINGIA
A Personal History of France, Germany and the Countries In Between

Stuck in the middle

When Charlemagne's three surviving grandsons carved up his empire in AD 843, one got what would become France, one Germany and the third got the bit inbetween, Lotharingia. In what is part witty travelogue and part rambling historical escapade, Winder wanders through this lost kingdom, touching on everything from Charlemagne and Cistercian monks to Asterix and the 'croissant of crisis'.

FICTION

Requiem for a Knave
by Laura Carlin
(Hodder & Stoughton, 316 pages, £17.99)

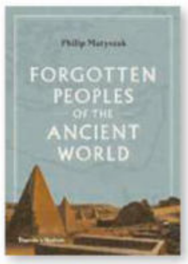


A medieval mystery

In 14th-century Derby, young farmer Alwin of Whittaker is compelled to leave the safety and security of his home following his mother's deathbed revelations. Thrust into an often brutal world, he encounters the devout and the destructive in equal measure. Indeed, the themes of this atmospheric novel – gender relations, sexual violence – are as applicable to the medieval world as they are to the present.

ANCIENT WORLD

Forgotten Peoples of the Ancient World
by Philip Matyszak
(Thames & Hudson, 288 pages, £24.95)

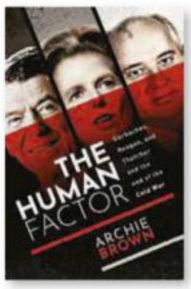


Beyond pharaohs and pyramids

Though they may be distant from us chronologically, the ancient Egyptians, Greeks and Romans remain broadly familiar culturally. The same cannot be said for many of the 40 civilisations explored in this accessible, visually appealing tour. The achievements of the Hyksos or the Batavi, for example, remain shrouded in mystery. The story of each is told here, and their respective legacies explored.

COLD WAR

The Human Factor: Gorbachev, Reagan and Thatcher, and the End of the Cold War
by Archie Brown
(OUP, 512 pages, £25)

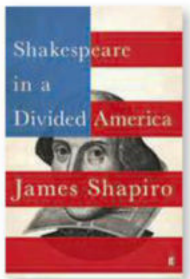


The personal and the political

What caused the tensions of the Cold War to dissipate as the 1980s drew to a close? For Archie Brown, the shift in the status quo can largely be attributed to three leaders: Margaret Thatcher, Mikhail Gorbachev and Ronald Reagan. Dismissing views that overwhelming US strength left the Soviet Union with nowhere to turn, or that the Cold War never really ended, this is weighty but compelling stuff.

CULTURAL

Shakespeare in a Divided America
by James Shapiro
(Faber & Faber, 310 pages, £20)

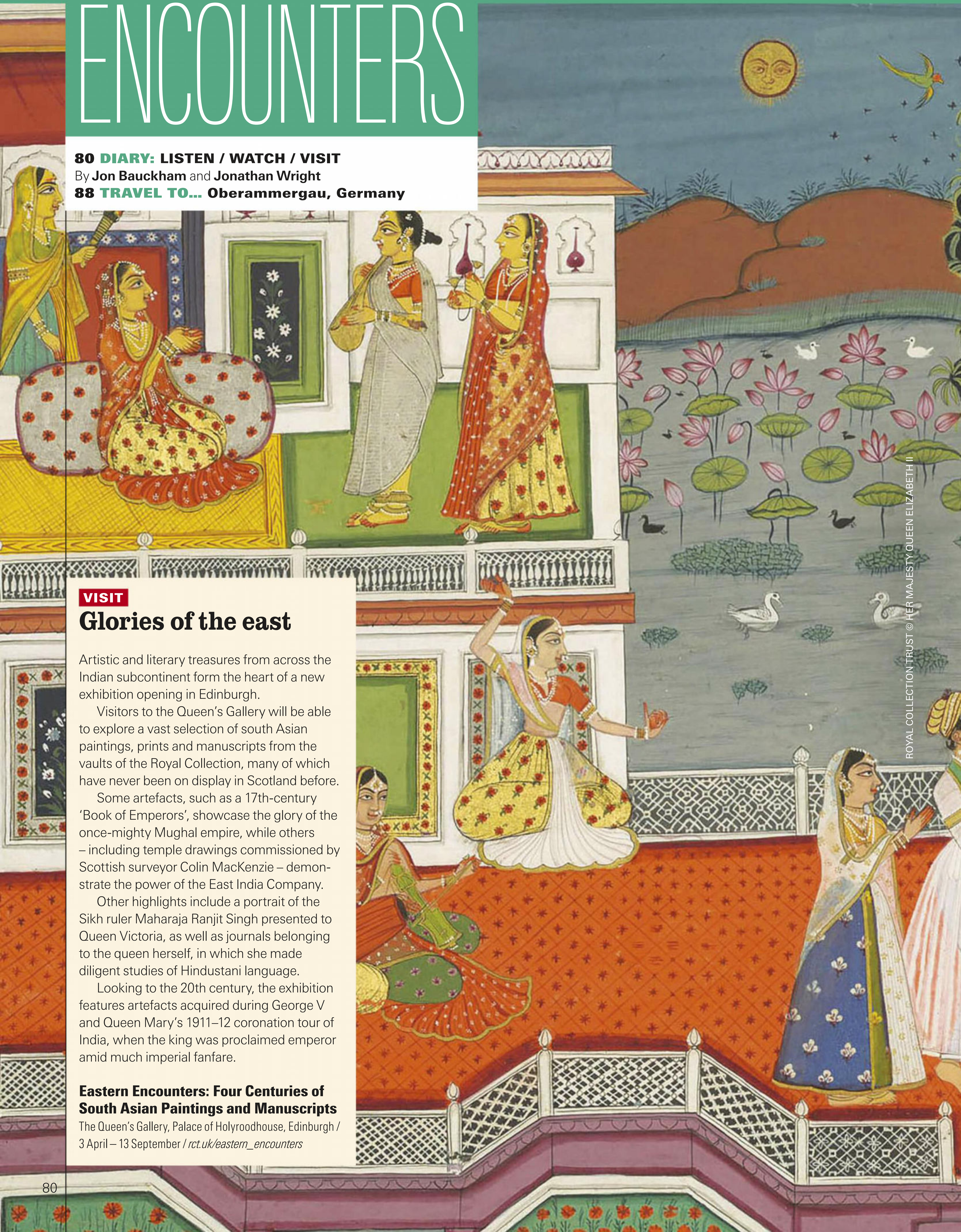


Political theatre

England, 1599: Shakespeare's *Julius Caesar* is performed for the first time. The US, 2020: as a presidential election looms, the country's tensions are again in the spotlight. But what can a 16th-century play, and the rest of the playwright's works, tell us about another nation in another time? This book charts the Bard's influence on key moments and players in America's history, and how they shaped the present. H

ENCOUNTERS

80 DIARY: LISTEN / WATCH / VISIT
By **Jon Bauckham** and **Jonathan Wright**
88 TRAVEL TO... Oberammergau, Germany



ROYAL COLLECTION TRUST © HER MAJESTY QUEEN ELIZABETH II

VISIT

Glories of the east

Artistic and literary treasures from across the Indian subcontinent form the heart of a new exhibition opening in Edinburgh.

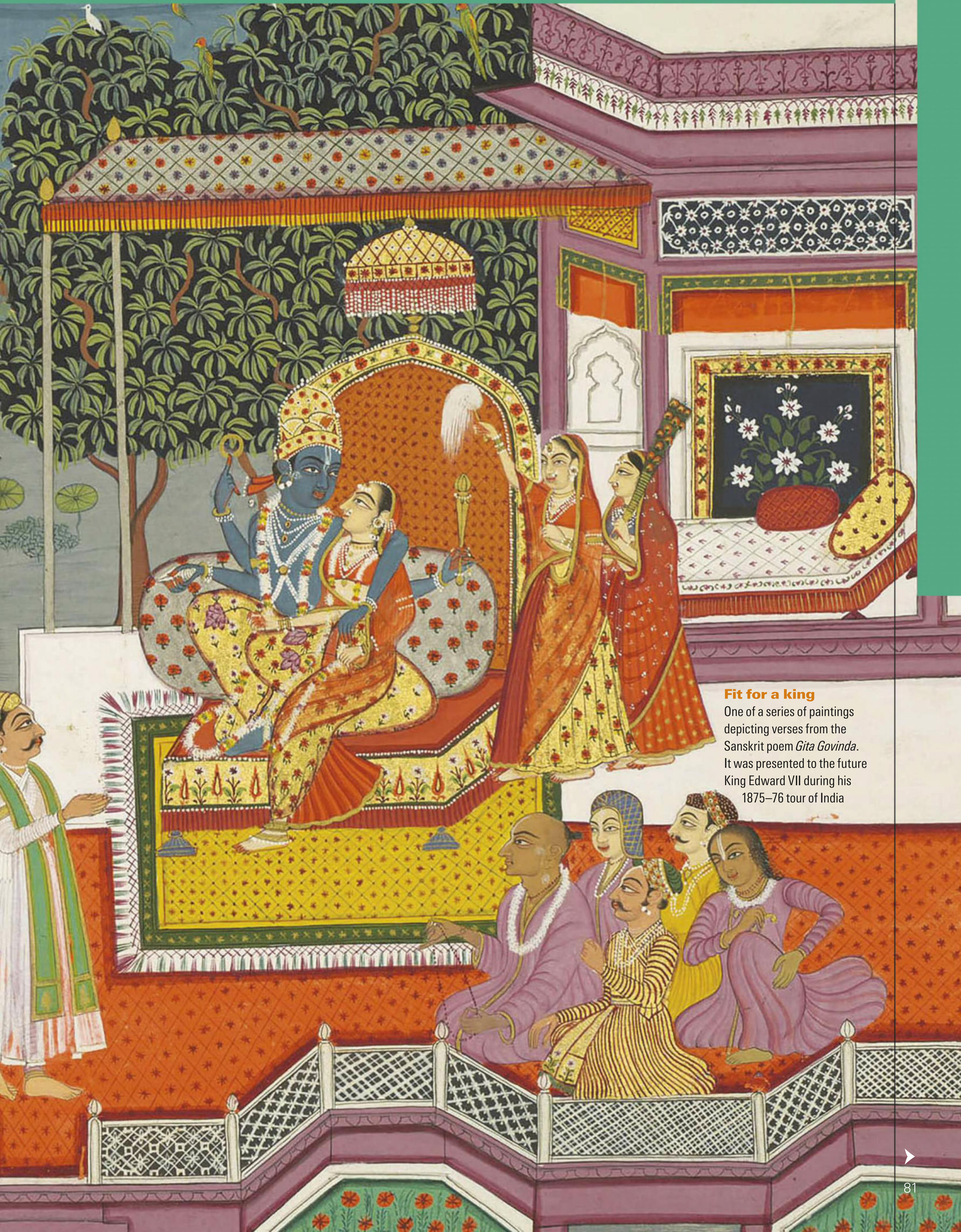
Visitors to the Queen's Gallery will be able to explore a vast selection of south Asian paintings, prints and manuscripts from the vaults of the Royal Collection, many of which have never been on display in Scotland before.

Some artefacts, such as a 17th-century 'Book of Emperors', showcase the glory of the once-mighty Mughal empire, while others – including temple drawings commissioned by Scottish surveyor Colin MacKenzie – demonstrate the power of the East India Company.

Other highlights include a portrait of the Sikh ruler Maharaja Ranjit Singh presented to Queen Victoria, as well as journals belonging to the queen herself, in which she made diligent studies of Hindustani language.

Looking to the 20th century, the exhibition features artefacts acquired during George V and Queen Mary's 1911–12 coronation tour of India, when the king was proclaimed emperor amid much imperial fanfare.

Eastern Encounters: Four Centuries of South Asian Paintings and Manuscripts
The Queen's Gallery, Palace of Holyroodhouse, Edinburgh / 3 April – 13 September / *rct.uk/eastern_encounters*



Fit for a king
One of a series of paintings depicting verses from the Sanskrit poem *Gita Govinda*. It was presented to the future King Edward VII during his 1875–76 tour of India

Seven famous faces tread a historic path to Istanbul

WATCH

A walk of faith

The Sultan's Trail is named for Suleiman the Magnificent, who led his forces into Europe before being checked at the siege of Vienna in 1529. Today, a route taken by Ottoman invaders has been recast as a path of peace, where people of all faiths and cultures can meet.

The third series of *Pilgrimage* finds seven celebrities – Adrian Chiles, Edwina Currie, Fatima Whitbread, Mim Shaikh, Amar Latif, Dom Joly and Pauline Mclynn – walking a section of the trail. Starting at Belgrade, and heading for Istanbul's Suleymaniye Mosque, they travel through Bulgaria and the mountainous Balkans, while bedding down in shared dorms en route. Will the journey change how they think about themselves and their beliefs?

Pilgrimage: The Road to Istanbul
BBC Two / Scheduled for 27 March

More than 100 pairs of shoes will be displayed, half of which have never been on show before

VISIT

Step back in time

With more than 3,000 pairs of shoes, Bath's Fashion Museum is a haven for any footwear fanatic. From a pair of iron-soled overshoes of the kind described in Jane Austen's *Persuasion*, to heels designed by Jimmy Choo, it's home to a particularly diverse array of treasures.

From March, visitors can view these and other highlights from the shoe collections, displayed side-by-side with garments in the museum's permanent exhibition, A History of Fashion in 100 Objects.

Shoephoria!
Fashion Museum, Bath / 28 March 2020 – 31 March 2021 / *fashionmuseum.co.uk/events/shoephoria*

LISTEN

Islam and capitalism

The 2008 banking crisis revealed weaknesses in the global finance system. Could Islamic thinking help us out? It's an idea explored by Kamal Ahmed, the BBC's former economics editor, in a programme that charts the influence of Islamic thought within business and finance.

This proves to be deeper than many in the west might imagine. The Prophet Mohammed, Ahmed reminds us, was a successful merchant. From a later era, it was the work of Islamic scholar Ibn Khaldun (1332–1406) rather than Adam Smith [pictured] that influential US economist Arthur Laffer drew on when he argued for lower taxes during the Reagan era.

Mohammed and the Market
BBC Radio 4 / Scheduled for 7 April

WEEKLY TV & RADIO
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A mourner in Tehran holds pictures of Qasem Soleimani and Iranian leader Ali Khamenei at a funeral for victims of an Isis attack in 2017

LISTEN

Power and influence

When Qasem Soleimani was killed by an American drone strike in January, there was a fear Iran would lash out in retaliation at the assassination of such a senior military-political figure. Instead, the Iranian government used the attack, near Baghdad International Airport, as an opportunity to build support for the idea of evicting American troops stationed in Iraq.

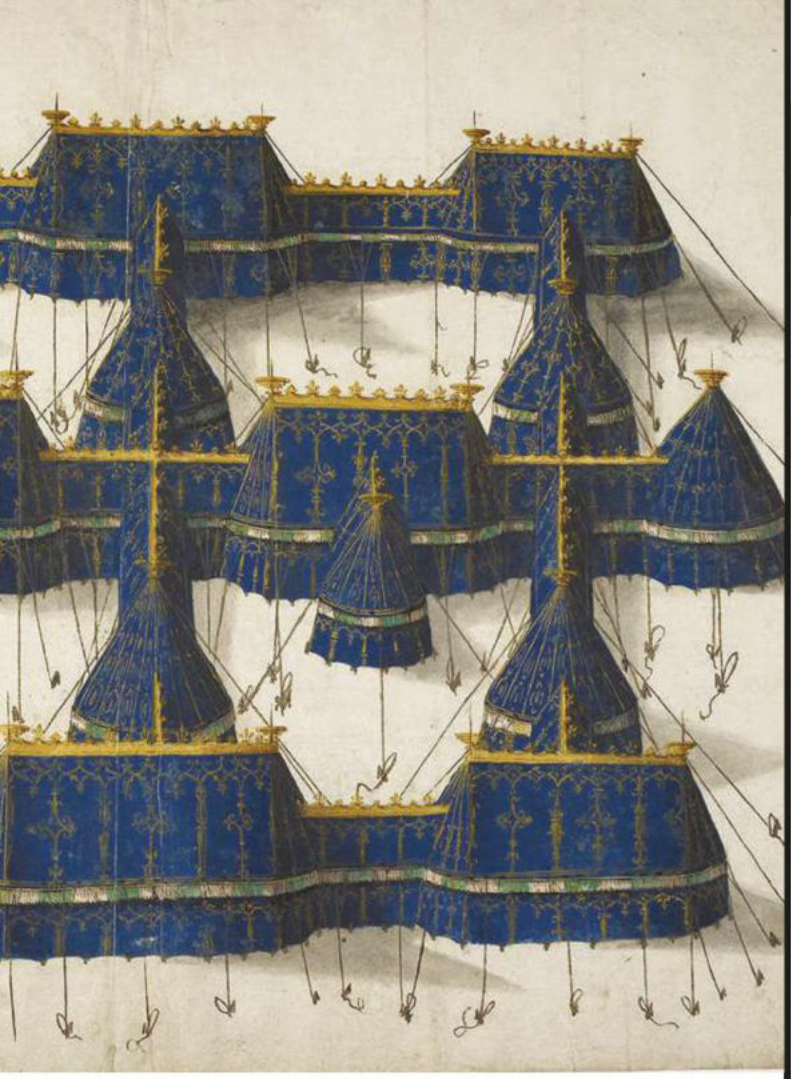
As Owen Bennett-Jones explores in a documentary tracing the story of the interplay between Baghdad, Tehran and Washington in the wake of the Iran-Iraq War (1980–88), it's not the first time the Iranians have surprised the Americans.

Events in 2003 are central to the story. While George Bush Jr saw the Iraq invasion as a way to create a democratic state in the Middle East and check Iranian power, the US underestimated Iran's ability to resist via proxy militias.

One result is that, ironically enough, Iran – greatly thanks to the machinations of Soleimani – now enjoys more influence than ever in Iraq.

How Iran Outwitted the West
BBC Radio 4 / Scheduled for 14 April

CTVC–OLIVER ROSE/FASHION MUSEUM BATH/PETER J STONE/GETTY IMAGES



Designs for tents at the Field of the Cloth of Gold. The expensive fabric used to make the tents and attendees' costumes gave the event its name

BRITISH LIBRARY, COTTON AUGUSTUS III/ALAMY

VISIT

Tudor spectacle

In June 1520, Henry VIII and his French counterpart, François I, organised an extravagant festival in the countryside near Calais.

Known as the Field of the Cloth of Gold, the event – featuring jousting, music and feasting – was intended to celebrate the new-found peace between the two nations and strengthen diplomatic ties.

To mark the 500th anniversary later this year, Hampton Court Palace will be hosting a special exhibition unpacking the history of the festival, complete with a dazzling selection of Tudor treasures and items on loan from Parisian museums.

Highlights will include art, costumes and weaponry that appeared at the Field of the Cloth of Gold itself, as well as a never-before-seen tapestry that sheds new light on people of colour in the 16th century.

Between 23 and 31 May, the exhibition will be accompanied by a mini-festival that will aim to recreate the atmosphere of the original event, featuring authentic Tudor cuisine and royal jousting matches.

Gold and Glory: Henry VIII and the French King
Hampton Court Palace, Greater London / 10 April – 31 August / *hrp.org.uk/hampton-court-palace*

HISTORY ON THE BOX

"Aubrey Beardsley is an incredibly modern figure. He constantly evolved to keep everyone guessing"

The League of Gentlemen star and *Sherlock* co-creator **MARK GATISS** tells us why he so admires the Victorian artist Aubrey Beardsley, whose tragically short life is the subject of a new documentary he presents on BBC Four

When did you first come across Aubrey Beardsley (1872–98)?
I discovered Beardsley through becoming interested in Oscar Wilde. I was about 16 or 17, I think, deeply pretentious and all about baggy cardigans, eyeliner and long fringes! In a way, Beardsley was the poster-boy for we 'bedroom decadents': the scandalous subject matter, the obvious snook-cocking at the establishment and the doomed trajectory of the consumptive artist. I was completely knocked out by his style (or styles) and his mastery of line.

How profoundly did Beardsley's childhood shape him?
His father was very absent, almost invisible, making his mother and sister the dominant figures in his early life. But it was a diagnosis of tuberculosis at age seven that really changed things. It wasn't necessarily a death sentence but it was clear that this delicate, unusual boy had a very different life in prospect.

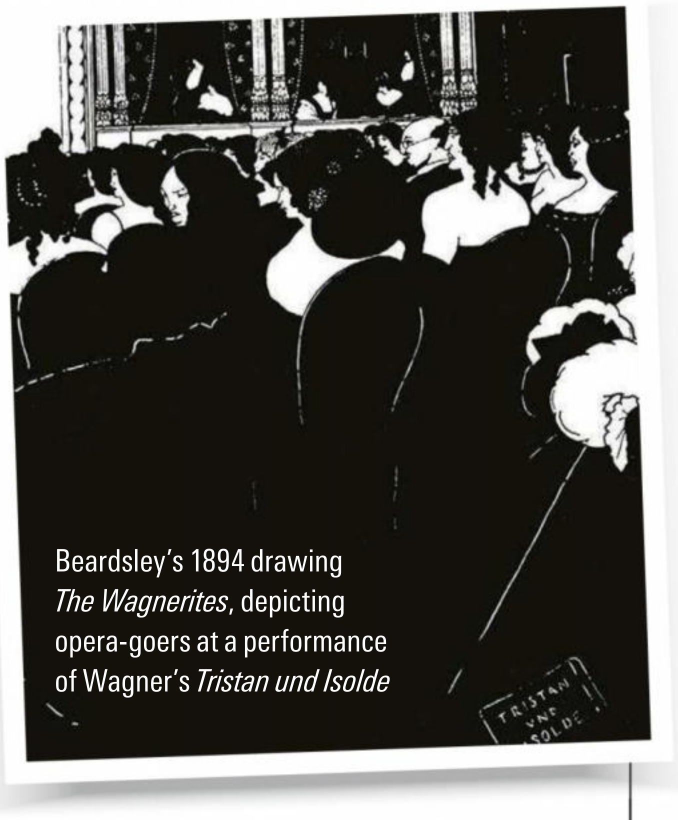
What were the most important creative influences on him?
The Pre-Raphaelites were the most obvious early influence but it was Edward Burne-Jones [1833–98] – whose pale, etiolated figures feature prominently in Beardsley's early work – who had the greatest impact. Burne-Jones held open-house days in his studio, and Beardsley and his sister went along to one, with Aubrey 'just happening' to have a portfolio of his drawings with him. The older artist gave his verdict: "I seldom or never advise anyone to take up art as a profession, but in your case I can do nothing else."

The next most telling influence was Japanese art, especially *Ukiyo-e* [woodblock] prints. It's clear how much Japanese illustration, with its astonishing use of negative space, flat blocks of colour (or black), and grotesque, often erotic, imagery fired Beardsley's imagination. But all his many influences were filtered through his own extraordinary imagination, creating something unique to him.

What was he like in person?
Witty, catty, *other*. His haunting physical appearance disturbed many. My favourite picture of him is by Walter Sickert, perfectly capturing his supernatural skinniness and frailty. But Beardsley is an incredibly modern figure. He created himself and his brand and constantly evolved to keep everyone guessing.

If there's one piece of work you'd highlight, which would it be?
The Wagnerites [below]. It's just stunning. Huge areas of pure black, then acreage of backless female shoulders and just the tiniest suggestion of white to delineate the seats. It's astonishingly bold. **H**

Scandal and Beauty: Mark Gatiss on Aubrey Beardsley is due to be shown on BBC Four on 30 March



Beardsley's 1894 drawing *The Wagnerites*, depicting opera-goers at a performance of Wagner's *Tristan und Isolde*

Once the pastries are filled, they are typically shaped using a decorative wooden mould

TASTE

Ma'amoul

These delicious pastries have been enjoyed across the Middle East for hundreds of years.

While there are many different regional variants of ma'amoul, their popularity transcends religious boundaries, being eaten by Christians at Easter, Muslims during Eid, and Jewish communities throughout Hanukkah.

This particular recipe will make pastries with three tasty and fragrant fillings.

Difficulty: 4/10 / **Time:** 13 hrs total

INGREDIENTS

Dough
500g plain white flour
2 tbsp white sugar
250g unsalted butter, melted
1–2 tbsp rose or orange flower water
2 tbsp water or milk
Icing sugar

Pistachio filling
Mix 250g of finely chopped pistachios with 2 tbsp sugar and 1 tbsp rose water.

Walnut filling
Mix 250g of finely chopped walnuts with 2 tbsp sugar and 1 tbsp cinnamon.

Date filling
Chop 500g stoneless dates and bring to the boil with half a teacup of water, squashing the mixture against the side of the pan with a wooden spoon until uniform. Allow to cool.

METHOD Sift the flour into a bowl and combine with the sugar, before working in the melted butter until the mixture is uniform. Cover and leave on the side overnight.

Break up the dough with your fingers and add the rose water or orange flower water, along with water or milk until it is malleable. Knead into one smooth ball.

Take a walnut-sized ball of the dough, stick your thumb into it and hollow out into a cup shape, so that the walls are as thin as possible. Insert a filling to about three-quarters full, and pinch closed. Pat gently into a ball, not letting the walls break.

Decorate the pastry on top with the prongs of a fork, or pat into a wooden mould and bang face down onto the work surface to extract.

Make as many pastries as you can until all the dough and filling is used. If the dough starts drying out, knead in more water or milk.

Place the pastries on a baking sheet (not greased) and bake in a pre-heated oven at 180°C for 20 minutes. Do not allow them to become hardened and brown.

Leave the pastries to cool and dust with icing sugar before serving.

German civilians, fleeing the Soviet advance, pick their way across the river Elbe on a partially destroyed railway bridge, May 1945

VISIT

In search of safety

From Jewish children fleeing Nazi Germany to Syrian families living in the Calais 'jungle', the stories of refugees over the past 100 years are brought together in a major new exhibition opening at IWM London in April.

Combining film, photography and other unique artefacts from the museum's collections, Refugees: Forced to Flee examines the variety of reasons people are driven to leave their home countries, and the challenges they can face in the process of trying to seek safety.

Objects on display include the diary of Belgian refugee Eugeen-Marie Bosteels, who describes how he and his family were treated on their way to England in 1914, to newly digitised images of United Nations peacekeeping missions during the Bosnian War in the 1990s.

The display forms part of a season of exhibitions and events based around refugees' stories, and complements an installation in the museum atrium entitled History of Bombs, created by Chinese artist Ai Weiwei. For full details of the Refugees programme – including events taking place at IWM North in Manchester – visit the link below.

Refugees: Forced to Flee
IWM London / 2 April – 29 November / *iwm.org.uk/seasons/refugees*

WATCH

Radical action

In 1970, the annual Miss World competition (pictured below) was a light entertainment highlight, televised by the BBC from the Royal Albert Hall. But change was in the air because this was also the year when activists from the Women's Liberation Movement targeted an event co-hosted by Bob Hope.

A one-off documentary tells the story of a November night when the rise of feminism collided with the Angry Brigade planting bombs, the civil rights movement and the struggle against apartheid.

Look out too for *Misbehaviour* (currently in UK cinemas), a new drama looking back at the same events.

Miss World 1970: Beauty Queens & Bedlam
BBC Two / Scheduled for March

SAM NOTT/IWM (KY 012151)/GETTY IMAGES

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WATCH

Southern Spartacus

The story of abolitionist and freedom fighter Harriet Tubman (1822–1913) deserves to be better known outside the USA. Born into slavery, she suffered a severe head injury as a teenager. Through the rest of her life, she saw visions and suffered blackouts.

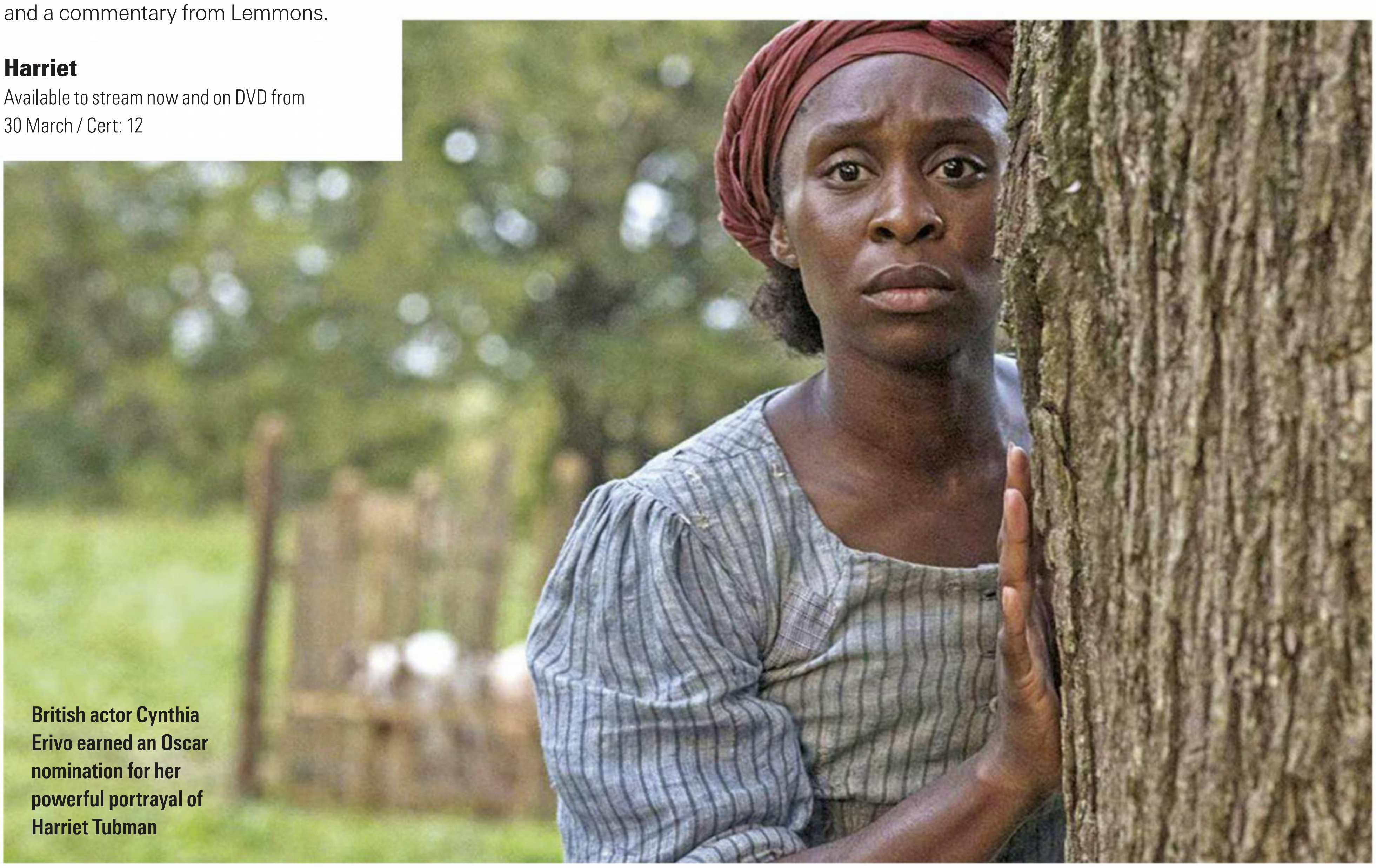
She also became devoutly religious and imbued with a moral courage evidenced by the number of times that, as an escaped slave putting her own life and freedom at risk, she headed south to rescue those still living in bondage, including members of her own family.

In director Kasi Lemmons' terrific biopic, Oscar-nominated Cynthia Erivo plays Tubman with charisma and energy. This makes the evolution of Tubman into a near-mythical figure – she was nicknamed 'Moses' because of her work leading escapees out of the south on the 'Underground Railroad' network – within her own lifetime wholly believable.

Watch out too for a subtle performance from Clarke Peters as Harriet's father, Ben Ross, and the singer Janelle Monáe as a Philadelphia boarding house owner who befriends Tubman. Extras on DVD include deleted scenes and a commentary from Lemmons.

Harriet

Available to stream now and on DVD from 30 March / Cert: 12



British actor Cynthia Erivo earned an Oscar nomination for her powerful portrayal of Harriet Tubman

The spy and cabaret star Josephine Baker is the subject of an episode of *You're Dead to Me*

LISTEN

New lease of life

It's apparently taken a lot of "chipping away down in the pod-mines" to gather the material for a second series of *You're Dead To Me*, Greg Jenner's podcast mixing history and comedy, but the task is now complete.

The result of all this effort is a collection of episodes that deal with such diverse topics as the ancient Olympics, the *Mayflower*, French cabaret star Josephine Baker and the history of chocolate.

You're Dead to Me

Available to download now via BBC Sounds

›› Turn to page 68 for our interview with Greg Jenner about his new book, *Dead Famous*

A beaded head ornament excavated from Ur, thought to date from 2600–2300 BC

VISIT

Buried treasures

A selection of 80 fascinating artefacts unearthed in Iraq will be travelling to Newcastle as part of a new touring exhibition curated by the British Museum.

Dating back several thousand years, highlights on display include an imposing statue of Gudea, ruler of the ancient region of Lagash, plus elaborate treasures excavated from royal tombs in the Sumerian state of Ur. Importantly, the destruction of the country's heritage by Isis is also addressed.

Once the exhibition leaves the North East, it can be seen at Lakeside Arts, Nottingham from 19 September to 13 December.

Ancient Iraq: New Discoveries

Great North Museum: Hancock, Newcastle-upon-Tyne / Until 2 August / *greatnorthmuseum.org.uk*

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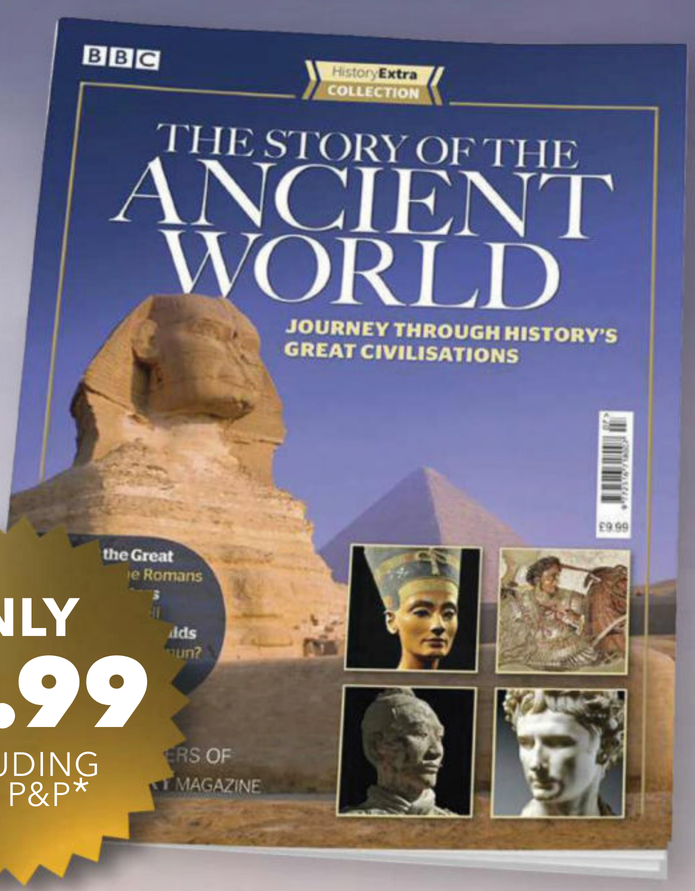
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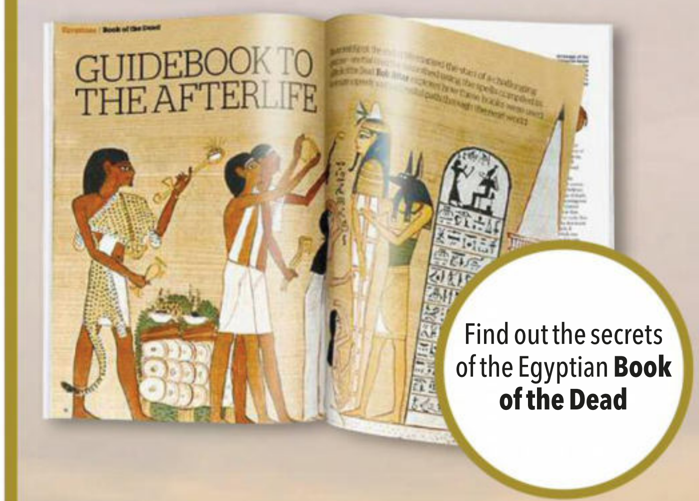
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TRAVEL TO... OBERAMMERGAU GERMANY

Bavaria's spiritual spectacular

ELLIE CAWTHORNE pays a visit to the village of Oberammergau where, once every decade, the locals stage a massive theatrical production, the result of a holy pledge made almost 400 years ago

If you happen to visit the small Bavarian town of Oberammergau in 2020, you will soon notice that the local men are unusually hirsute. Wandering through the streets, beards and long hair will be everywhere you look. But this town-wide grooming regime isn't the result of any fashion trend – it's all in the name of tradition, God and theatre.

Once a decade, on Ash Wednesday, Oberammergauers stop shaving as part of the preparations for the town's Passion Play, a theatrical tradition that has been an integral part of life here for almost 400 years.

Ever since the play telling the story of Christ's trial, death and resurrection was first performed in 1634, the production has grown beyond recognition. It now attracts audiences from across the globe. For the Passion Play's latest incarnation this year, almost half a million people will descend on the town over the course of 104 performances stretching from May until October.

And it's not just the audiences that are huge, the cast is equally formidable. Of the town's population of around 5,500 people, more than 2,300 locals appear on stage, or perform in the orchestra and choir. Every role, from Jesus and the apostles right down to each Roman footsoldier is filled by an Oberammergau resident. Anyone who has lived in the town for 20 years has the right to partake, and many come from families in which roles have been passed down from generation to generation.

Perhaps as astounding as the scale of the spectacle itself is the fact that this mammoth undertaking originated from a holy pledge that Oberammergau's people made in a desperate moment almost 400 years ago.

> **"** Every role, from Jesus and the apostles down to each Roman footsoldier, is filled by residents of Oberammergau **"**

Divine intervention

Around 90km south of Munich, close to the Austrian border, Oberammergau sits at the edge of the Ettaler Forest, under the distinctive white peak of the Kofel mountain. Situated on a medieval trading route from Venice to Augsburg, the town was renowned for the exceptional skill of its wood carvers and painters. Today, wooden alpine cabins are painted with fairytale murals and trompe-l'oeil optical illusions, while small souvenir shops overflow with Christmas decorations (sold all year round), cuckoo clocks and handmade wooden figurines. Surrounded by rolling meadows and snow-capped mountain peaks, with beer-brewing monasteries and the fairytale castles of Ludwig II nearby, it's a picture-postcard image of Bavaria.

In the 17th century, this sleepy town looked far less peaceful. The Thirty Years' War saw the region ravaged by marauding troops living off the land, and Oberammergau was forced to isolate itself as surrounding towns succumbed to plague. In 1632, with war still raging, disaster struck. According to local legend, the careful precautions the townsfolk had taken to avoid contamination failed when a plague-stricken man slipped unnoticed into the village during a church festival. A devastating wave of infections spread.

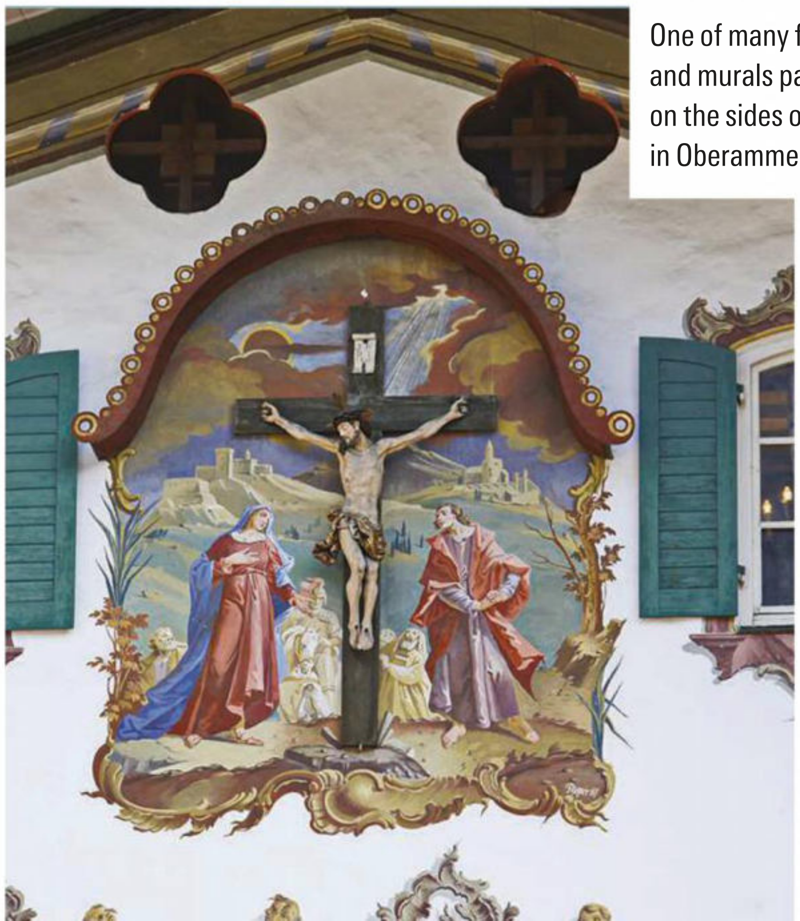
Desperate to escape death's clutches, the residents struck a deal with the almighty. They pledged that if they were spared from contamination, they would, every 10 years for posterity, stage a magnificent production honouring Christ's sacrifice. According to Pastor Joseph Daisenberger's chronicle of Oberammergau's history, "From this day forward, not a single person perished, even though a great number of them still showed signs of the plague."

In response to this miraculous deliverance, the town duly staged its first *Play of the*

It takes a village...
Jesus appears before Pontius Pilate in a crowd scene from Oberammergau's 2010 Passion Play. The Bavarian town stages the mammoth production once every 10 years, with a cast made up entirely of local residents

PASSIONSSPIELE OBERAMMERGAU 2010–BRIGITTE MARIA MAYER/ANDREAS STÜCKL/GETTY IMAGES/ALAMY

LEFT: Set pieces are created for the 2020 Passion Play ABOVE: An Oberammergau woodcarver creating a nativity scene in 2004. The craftspeople of the town have been renowned for their expertise in carving and painting wood since the 1100s



One of many frescoes and murals painted on the sides of houses in Oberammergau

Rehearsals in progress for the 2020 Passion Play. More than 2,300 locals are set to take part

Suffering, Death and Resurrection of our Lord, Jesus Christ in 1634, on a stage erected above the recently dug graves of the plague victims. Just as the villagers had promised, this would be the first of countless such productions.

As the centuries progressed, the scale of the show grew decade on decade. By the 19th century, visitor numbers exceeded 100,000. In 1830, a new open-air theatre was erected to hold the ever-increasing crowds. The play also became a draw for some of history's leading figures, from Franz Liszt and Gustave Eiffel to the future King Edward VII and the US president Dwight Eisenhower. In 1934, Adolf Hitler attended a jubilee performance for the play's 300th anniversary. His warmongering would ensure that the following decade was one of only two in which the play was not performed – the other being the 1770s, when Elector Maximilian III placed a blanket ban on all Passion Plays as an improper way of expressing religious devotion.

Modernising streak

You can discover the history of the Passion Play at Oberammergau's small but carefully curated museum. Among cabinets brimming with wooden dolls and toy soldiers is a stained-glass window given to the town as a token of appreciation from the adoring audience member King Ludwig II. The collection also holds some of the oldest surviving costumes, including a sequinned headdress dating from the 1760s.

Under the weight of almost four centuries of tradition, it's easy to see how the Passion Play could have become stuck in the past. The fact that it has escaped this fate is largely down to the efforts of one man. First appointed as the show's director in 1990, when he was just 27 years old, Christian Stückl is an Oberammergau local from a long Passion Play lineage. He remembers listening to his grandfather, who sometimes learned his lines as Herod while sitting on the toilet.

Despite this theatrical inheritance, Stückl has spent the last 30 years tirelessly fighting to keep the play looking forward. He overhauled the ossifying production, working with Jewish groups to remove anti-Semitism from the outdated script and casting a married woman as Mary (a role previously reserved for young and unmarried virgins). Stückl's battle to open casting up to all women (including those who were married or over 35) ended up at Munich's Higher Regional Court, and in 2000 he finally managed to introduce the right for actors of any religion to take on leading roles.

Pay a visit to Oberammergau during Passion Play season and it quickly becomes clear that this is still a town very much shaped by history and tradition. But while the Last Supper table that appears on stage is the same one that has been used since 1870, the people that sit around it are more diverse, and the story they are telling more inclusive.

Tradition is important here, but that tradition is kept alive through being continually reshaped and updated.

> “Audiences have included writers, composers, royals and politicians, from Liszt and Eiffel to Edward VII, Eisenhower and Hitler”

VISIT For more information on planning a trip to Oberammergau or Bavaria, go to **bavaria.by**

MUNICH HIGHLIGHTS

If you're heading to Oberammergau, why not combine it with a trip to the Bavarian capital?

Viktualienmarkt

Munich has been home to a thriving market since the 12th century. The market moved to its current site in the 19th century to spare city-dwellers from piles of rotting leftovers. Today, it's a gastronomic hub. Stalls selling gigantic pretzels and platters of sausage topped with radishes sit next to modern offerings of vitamin shots and wasabi cheese. Seek out a Bavarian breakfast of boiled white sausages, pretzel and sweet mustard, washed down with wheat beer.

Bayerisches National Museum

This elegant museum holds exhibits ranging from late antiquity to the 20th century. Large permanent collections include candystriped lutes, elaborate Meissen tureens and delicate Bustelli figurines. Look out for the famous ivory collection, where warty-textured satyrs' heads sit alongside ghoulish flayed bodies and impossibly intricate *memento mori*.
bayerisches-nationalmuseum.de

A view of Marienplatz, Munich's historic central square

Marienplatz

The city's historic heart since the 12th century, this central square was originally home to Munich's grain market. Today, tourists gather under the Gothic Neues Rathaus, waiting for the chimes of its famous belltower, its clock showing scenes from Bavarian history. If you're lucky, you might catch a parade of local brewers – brass players in *lederhosen* marching alongside horse-drawn carriages decked with flower garlands.

ANDREAS STÜCKL/ALAMY

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Star Castle Hotel

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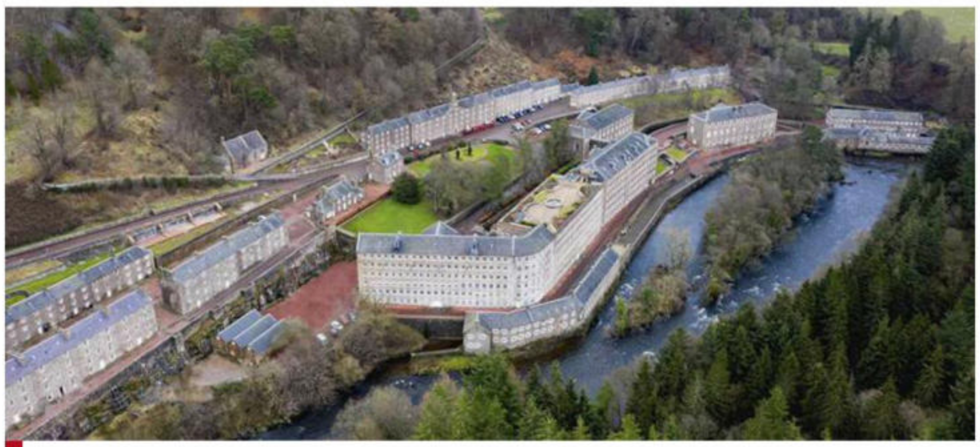

New Lanark Mill Hotel

New Lanark Mill Hotel is located in the heart of New Lanark World Heritage Site, a beautifully restored 18th-century cotton mill village. Nestled in the spectacular Clyde Valley in southern Scotland, a stone's throw from the Falls of Clyde and less than an hour from Edinburgh and Glasgow, you can choose to stay in 4 star hotel accommodation, Waterhouse Cottages or Wee Row Hostel.

hotel@newlanark.org //+44(0)1555 667 200

Thornbury Castle Hotel & Restaurant

Thornbury Castle Hotel, where Henry VIII and Anne Boleyn spent their honeymoon, has an impressive history. Atmospheric and regal bedchambers, stone walls, suits of armour, open fireplaces and Tudor Walled Gardens enhance the experience. The award-winning restaurant and private dining rooms offer atmospheric dining in a dramatic setting.

thornburycastle.co.uk // 01454 281182

Boringdon Hall Hotel

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Cathedrals, Churches & Abbeys

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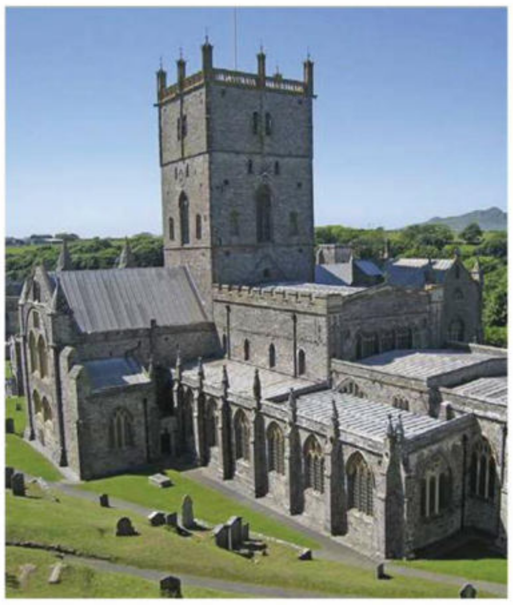
ST DAVIDS CATHEDRAL



For almost a millennium and a half, St Davids has been a place of pilgrimage. It has stood for over 800 years as a noble example of medieval architecture; as the centre of the diocese; as the parish church of the city of St Davids; and as a place where prayer and the praise of God are offered daily.

01437 720202
stdavidscathedral.org.uk

CANTERBURY CATHEDRAL

UNESCO world heritage site, seat of the Archbishop of Canterbury, and mother church of the worldwide anglican communion, Canterbury Cathedral is a must-visit destination. A site of medieval pilgrimage following Thomas Becket's murder in 1170, commemorated in this year's Becket 2020 events.

01227 762862
canterbury-cathedral.org

ST PATRICKS CATHEDRAL

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DUBLIN

Perhaps more than any other building in Ireland, Saint Patrick's Cathedral embodies the history and heritage of Irish people. The National Cathedral of the Church of Ireland, Saint Patrick's Cathedral hosts sung services twice daily Sunday through Friday, and welcomes over 500,000 visitors annually.

stpatrickscathedral.ie
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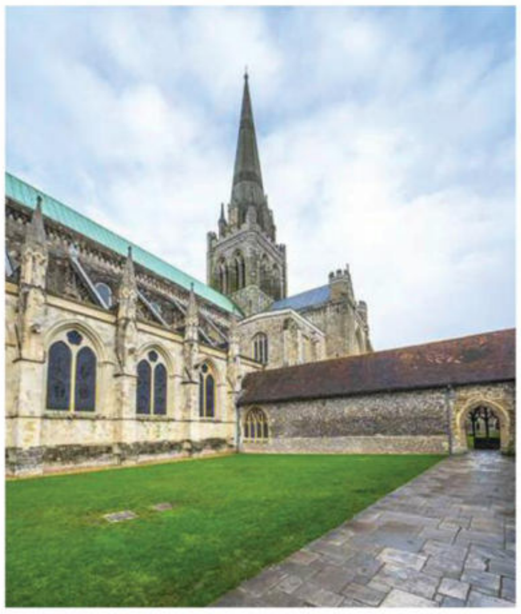

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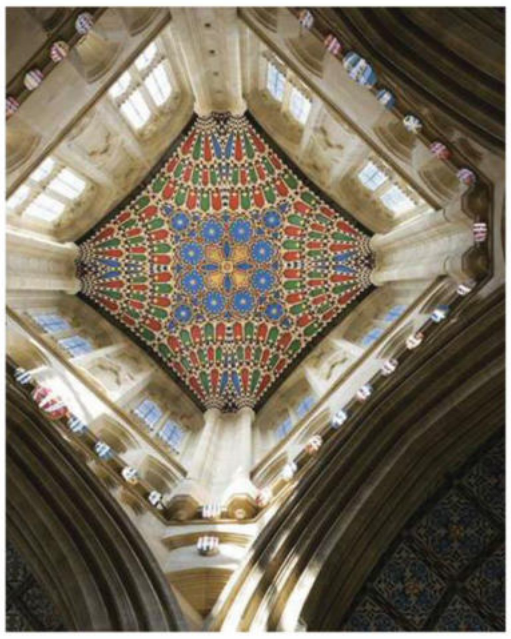

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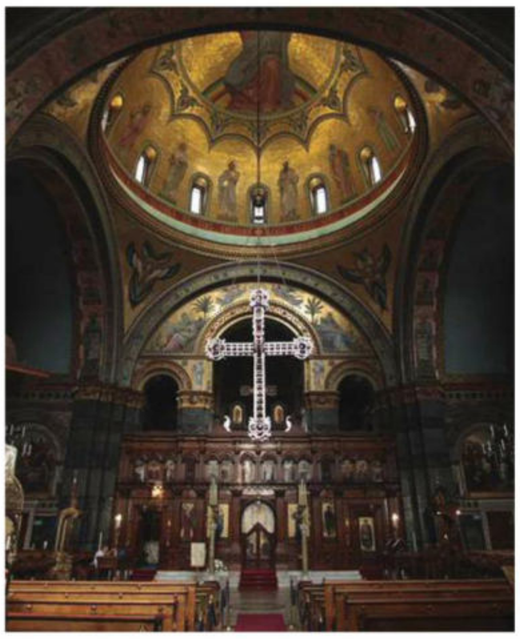

The Cathedral was built in the late 19th century as a result of the Greek Community in London's planning and fundraising efforts. Designed by John Oldrid Scott and inspired by Byzantine architecture, it has a distinctive domed roof and a richly ornamented interior with mosaics and marble cladding.

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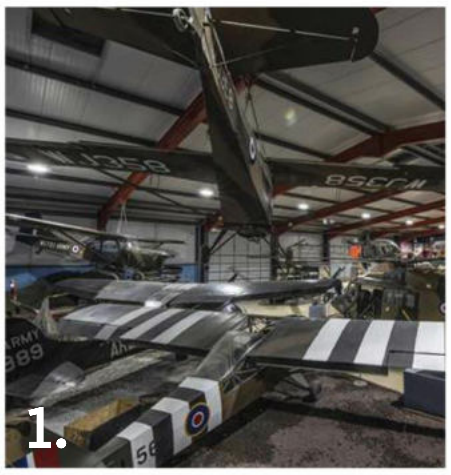

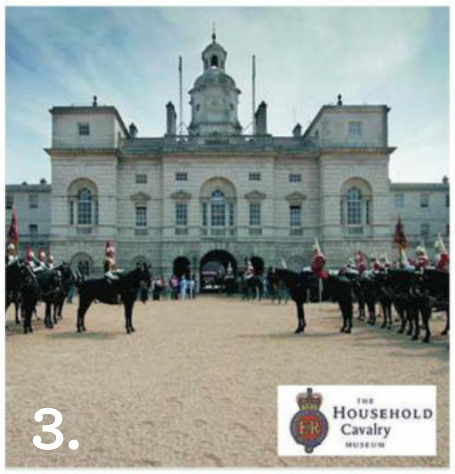

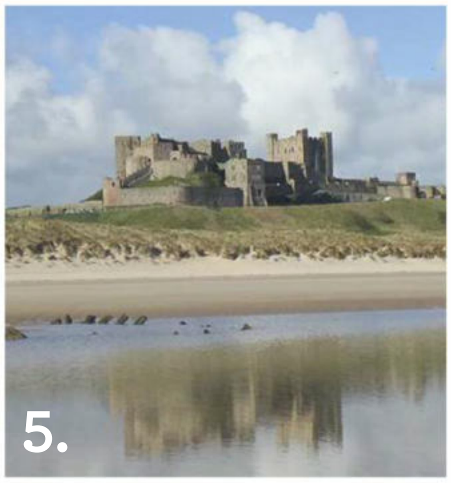

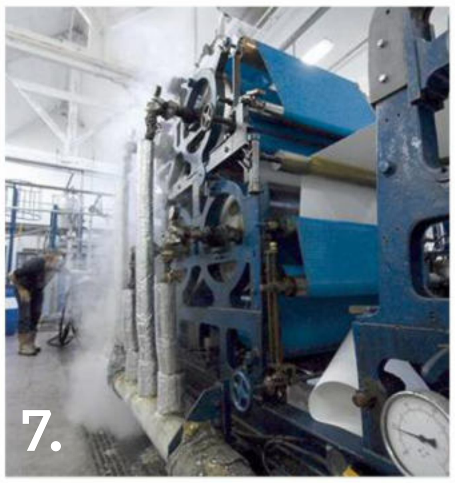

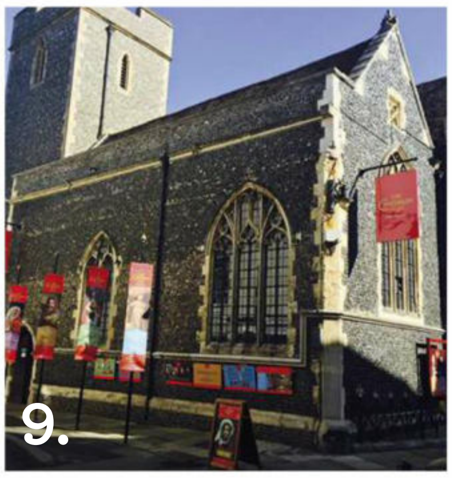

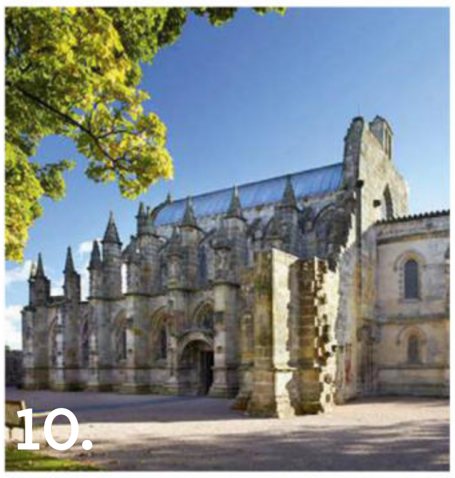

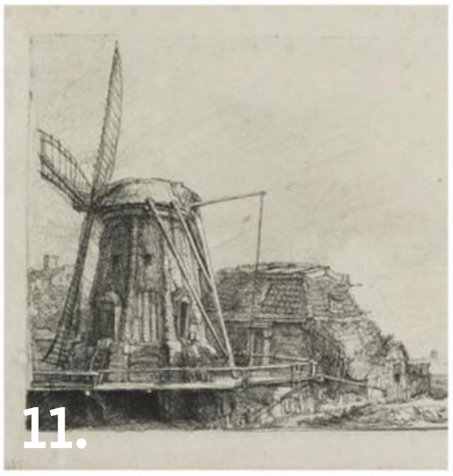

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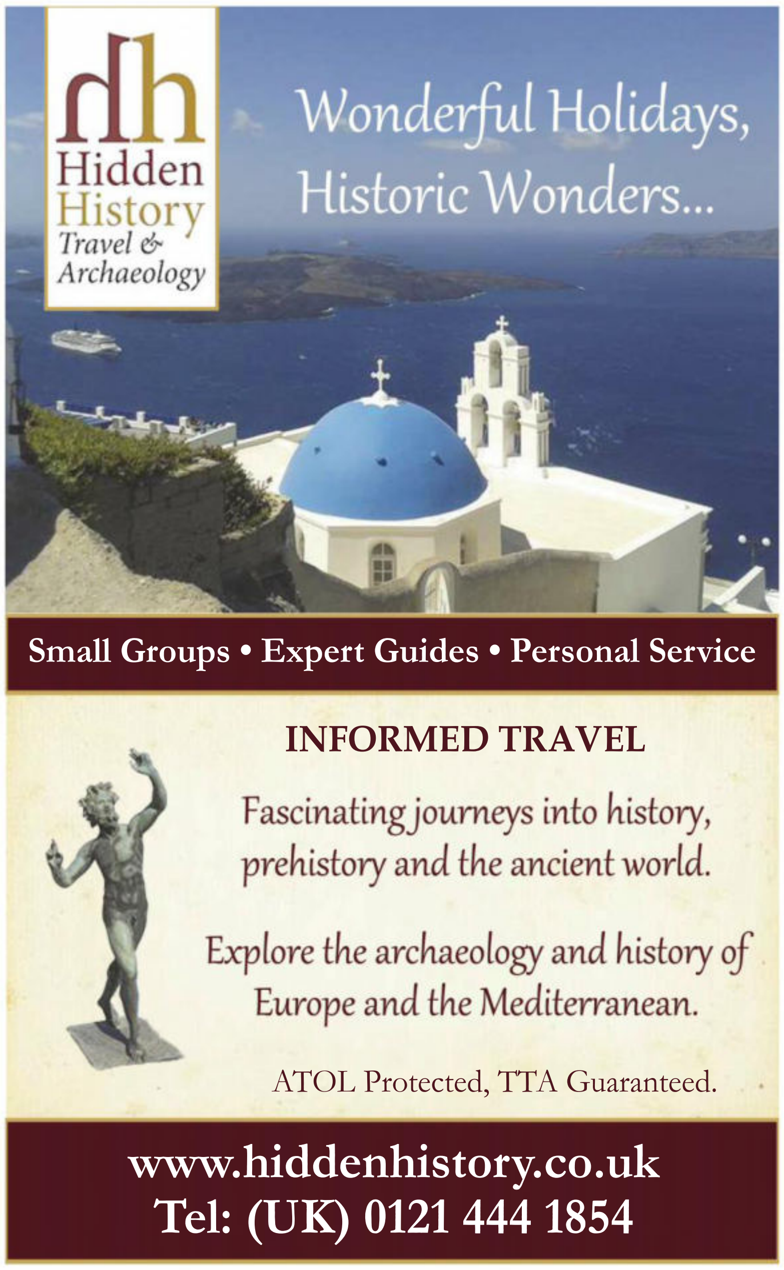

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PRIZE CROSSWORD

Across

1 Nickname of the watered-down rum drink traditionally doled out to sailors of the Royal Navy (4)

4 The medieval markings on shields etc, originally used to distinguish between friend and foe in battle (8)

9 ___ Comics, the American classic series of magazines/books that introduced the character of Superman in 1938 (6)

10 Roman co-emperor with Diocletian (to whom he played a subordinate role) (8)

11 English naval intelligence officer who later drew on his Second World War experiences to write a highly successful series of spy novels (7)

13 The 1938 ___ Agreement by Germany, Britain, France and Italy allowed the German annexation of the Sudetenland (6)

14/20 Actress and mistress of Charles II during the Restoration era, known for her ready wit and high spirits (4,4)

16 ____ III (died c1426 BC) was perhaps the greatest military leader of ancient Egypt (8)

19 The one in general use today was introduced by Pope Gregory XIII in 1582 to replace the Julian version (8)

20 See 14 across

22 Military proficiency was the main focus of this Greek city-state, to the detriment of the arts and literature (6)

24 A huge stone, such as was used in monuments of the Neolithic period (8)

26 Regarded as the foremost of five holy sites of its kind, it has been a major centre of worship and ceremony in China for several centuries, attracting many pilgrims to its temples and peak (5,3)

28 The '___ Conspiracy' was the apparent attempt by John Ruthven and his brother to kidnap James VI of Scotland (6)

29 The _____ Putsch refers to the abortive insurrection by Hitler and Ludendorff against the Weimar Republic in 1923 (4,4)

30/6 A key figure in the founding of what became the Communist Party of Germany, who was murdered by a rightwing paramilitary group in 1919 (4,9)

Down

2 Brazilian city, a major centre of Dutch Brazil in the 17th century (6)

3 Legendary queen, whose adulterous liaison with a knight led to the demise of her husband and his kingdom (9)

4 City that was made the capital of French Indochina in 1902 (5)

5 A symbol of fertility in ancient Egypt, associated with the god Amun (3)

6 See 30 across

7 Britain ceased to be so in c410 AD (5)

8 A far-right, authoritarian political ideology that emerged in Italy around 1919, later spreading to other European countries (7)

12 Danish king who, after defeat by Alfred the Great, converted to Christianity and took the name Æthelstan (7)

15 American-born British politician (first name Nancy), the first woman to take her seat in the House of Commons (1919) (4,5)

17 Two distinguished passengers on this ship's 1620 historic voyage were William Bradford and Myles Standish (9)

18 Saint Edmund ___, who was hanged in 1581 after being falsely accused of treason against Elizabeth I (7)

21 Vera ___, a powerful figure in the Special Operations Executive (SOE) instigated by Churchill in 1940 (6)

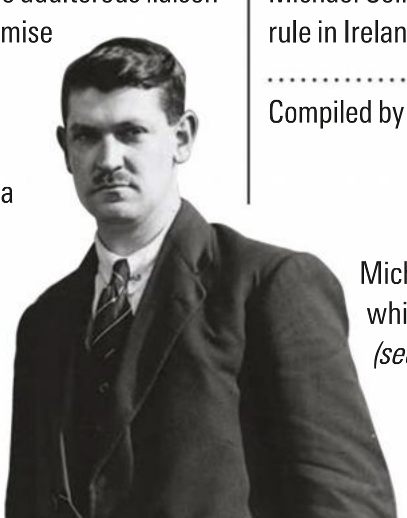
23 Leopold von __, leading 19th-century German historian, a major influence on western historiography (5)

25 The tradition of 19th-century Russian realism was pioneered by this great Ukrainian-born writer (5)

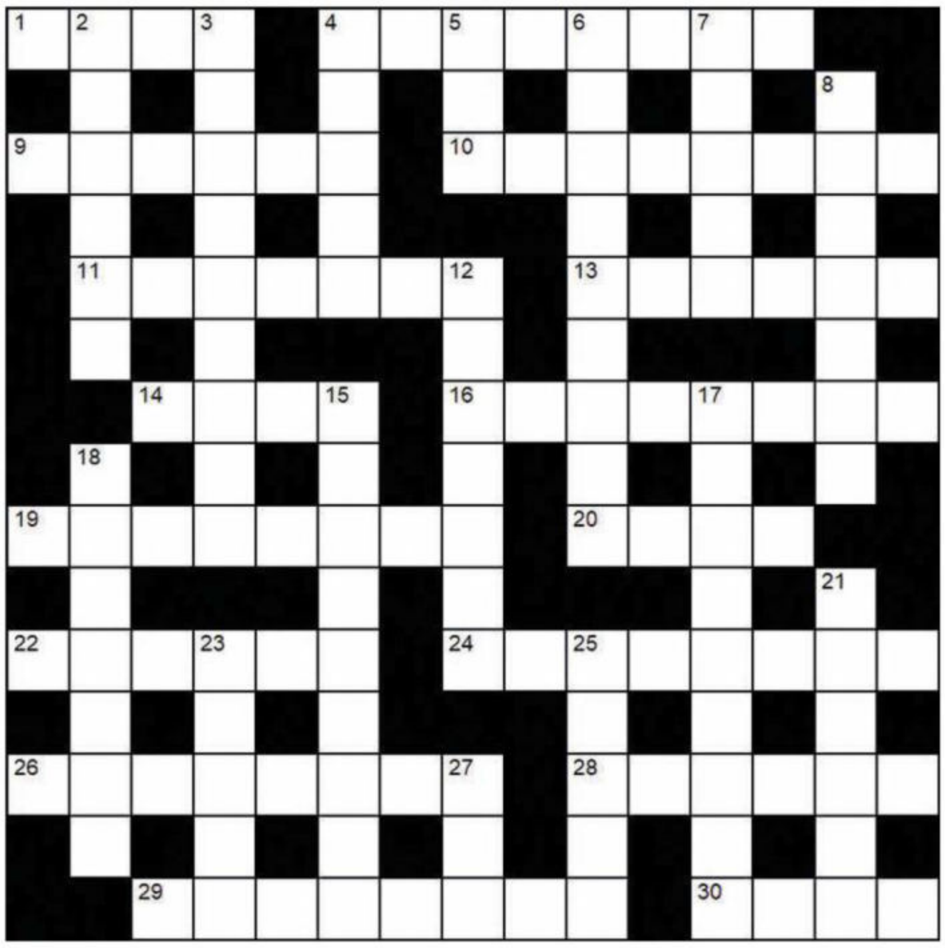
27 Paramilitary organisation, once led by Michael Collins, that sought the end of British rule in Ireland (3)

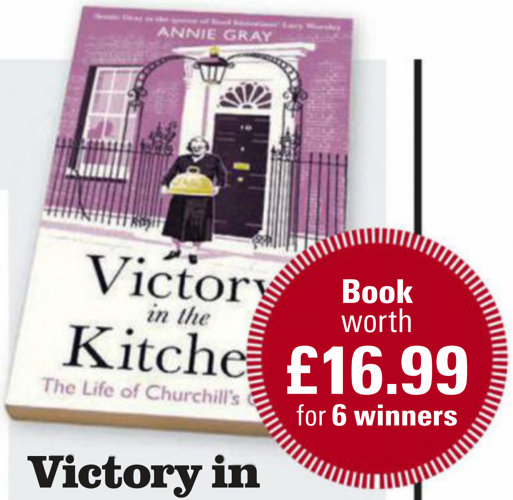
……

Compiled by **Eddie James**



Michael Collins was a leader of which paramilitary organisation?
(see 27 down)





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● Open to residents of the UK (inc Channel Islands). Post entries to ***BBC History Magazine*, April 2020 Crossword, PO Box 501, Leicester LE94 0AA** or email them to ***april2020@historycomps.co.uk*** by 5pm on **15 April 2020**. ● Entrants must supply full name, address and phone number. The winners will be the first correct entries drawn at random after the closing time. Winners' names will appear in the June 2020 issue. By entering, participants agree to be bound by the terms and conditions shown in full in the box below. Immediate Media Company Ltd (publishers of *BBC History Magazine*) will use personal details in accordance with the Immediate Privacy Policy at *immediatemedia.co.uk/privacy-policy/privacy/* ● Immediate Media Company Ltd (publishers of *BBC History Magazine*) would love to send you newsletters, together with special offers and other promotions. If you would not like to receive these, please write 'NO INFO' on your entry. ● Branded BBC titles are licensed from or published jointly with BBC Studios (the commercial arm of the BBC). Please tick here ☐ if you'd like to receive regular newsletters, special offers and promotions from BBC Studios by email. Your information will be handled in accordance with the BBC Studios privacy policy: *bbcstudios.com/privacy. – bbc.com/editorialguidelines/guidance/code-of-conduct*

Solution to our February 2020 crossword

Across 1 Alcock 4 Camelot 9/15 Maccabean Revolt 10 Aisne 11 Glebe 12 Transvaal 13 Memphis 19 Talbot 20 Mintoff 23 New Forest 25 Basra 26 Oates 27 Bowes-Lyon 28 Danelaw 29 Lyceum

Down 1 Armagh 2 Cockerell 3 Clare 4 Conway 5 Means Test 6 Lissa 7 The Blitz 8 Yeltsin 14 Proconsul 16 Offa's Dyke 17 Stanford 18 Wigtown 21 Benbow 22 Barnum 24 Witan 25 Busby

Three winners of *Histories of the Unexpected*

A Myall, Hampshire
I Brookes, Cheshire
E Freer, Nottinghamshire

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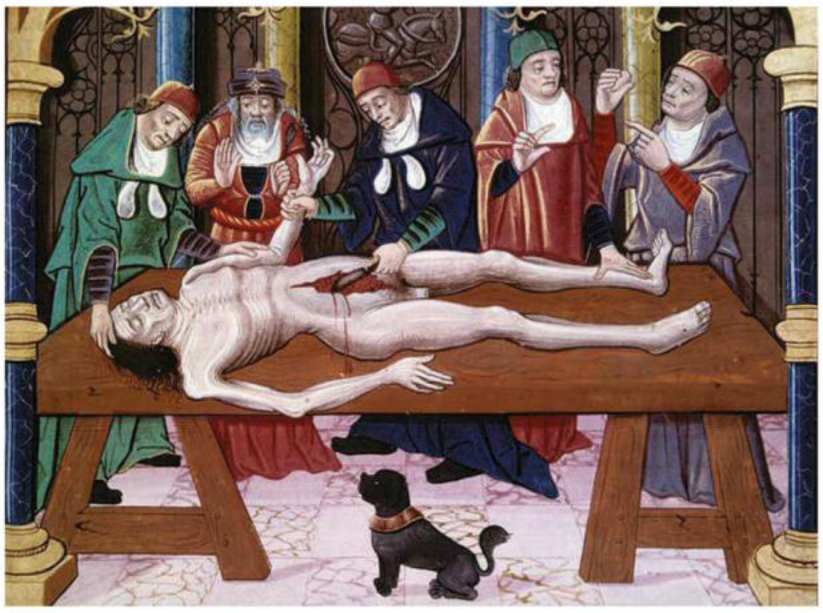


Ask the medieval doctor

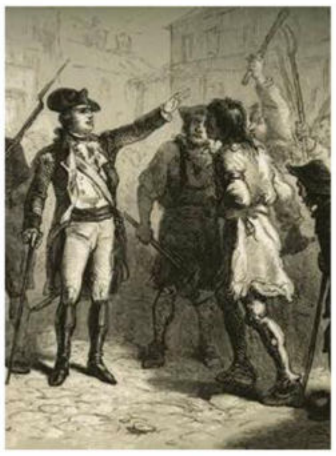
Imagine you are an average person living in the Middle Ages. What would you do if you fell ill? How do you go about staying healthy? And what medical advice is available to you at this time? Elma Brenner turns medieval doctor, issuing health advice on everything from headaches to broken bones.

historyextra.com/medieval-doctor

A history of the Republican party

The Republicans were once the natural party of African-Americans. How did they graduate into a party of the establishment, which today attracts the votes of one in 10 African-Americans? Adam IP Smith has the answers.

historyextra.com/republican-party



The Regulators

The new series of *Outlander* features the War of the Regulation, which took place in the British colonies of North and South Carolina in the 18th century. Stephen Conway explains who the Regulators were, and what happened in the uprising's most violent episode.

historyextra.com/regulators

Quarantine

The practice of quarantining has a long history – from stopping plague outbreaks to preventing the spread of leprosy – but its implementation has a darker side. Caroline Rance considers how it has encouraged racial tensions and curtailed freedom.

historyextra.com/quarantine-history

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NEXT MONTH

May issue on sale 16 April 2020

Victory in Europe

Discover how the Nazis were defeated, in a special 24-page Second World War supplement

Anarchy in the UK?

Matthew Lewis offers a new take on the 12th-century civil war between King Stephen and Empress Matilda

Sex, scandal and Charles II

Linda Porter discusses the women who dominated the Stuart court in the late 17th century

Medieval magic

Catherine Rider on why people in the Middle Ages turned to spells and potions

MY HISTORY HERO

***Gabby Logan**, TV and radio presenter, chooses*

Rosa Parks

1913–2005

Gabby Logan was appointed Member of the Order of the British Empire (MBE) in the 2020 New Year Honours for services to sports broadcasting and the promotion of women in sport

Rosa Parks (right) rides on a bus following the Supreme Court's ruling to end racial segregation on Montgomery's public transit system

IN PROFILE

Rosa Parks was an American civil rights activist best known for her pivotal role in the Montgomery bus boycott of 1955, when public transport in the US state of Alabama was racially segregated. She subsequently became an iconic figure in the civil rights movement. On the centenary of her birth, the then-US president, Barack Obama, called upon all Americans to honour Rosa Parks's "enduring legacy".

> "Rosa's actions highlighted internationally the plight of black people in the 1950s-era deep south of America"

When did you hear about Rosa Parks? As a kid, I was interested in the civil rights movement. I read Harper Lee's novel about racial injustice, *To Kill a Mockingbird*, and some of the black American writer Maya Angelou's books, and it was then that I heard about her.

What kind of woman was she? Rosa grew up on a farm outside Montgomery, Alabama with her grandparents and as a girl was bullied by white children. Throughout her life she was aware of the injustice she suffered as a result of her skin colour in what was then a very racially segregated society, and she joined the NAACP (National Association for the Advancement of Colored People) as a young woman. I think life must have been very hard for her back then.

What was her finest hour? It was her simple act of rebellion when she refused to give up her seat for a white passenger. She was arrested, charged with, and found guilty of, violating a local city bylaw after a 30-minute trial and fined $10, plus $4 in court costs – a considerable amount at the time. Her arrest triggered the successful Montgomery bus boycott by black Americans. The 13-month protest ended with the US Supreme Court ruling that segregation on public buses is unconstitutional. Rosa's actions highlighted internationally the plight of black people in the 1950s-era deep south and were a landmark in their struggle for equality in American society.

What made Parks a hero? That one single act of defiance and bravery which paved the way for change and in due course helped make America, and in a way Britain too, a fairer society for people, regardless of their colour or creed. It's hard to appreciate now the courage she showed in taking on authority in an era when discrimination was so commonplace and ingrained in society. Doing what she did took real guts. I also admire the fact that she did not use violence to try to achieve her ends. Rosa continued in her civil rights work into old age, working tirelessly to help young black people fulfil their full potential; she was equally vocal in calling for more black students to be given the chance to go to university.

Is her act of rebellion still relevant today? Sadly, yes, and that's why organisations such as Black Lives Matter, which campaigns against racism, are still needed. Tackling racism isn't just about letting people sit where they want to sit on a bus, it's about genuinely creating equality of opportunity for all, regardless of the colour of one's skin.

What would you ask Parks if you could meet her? I'd like to know how much progress on equality she thinks has been made in the decades since her famous protest. H

Gabby Logan was talking to York Membery

LISTEN AGAIN

In Radio 4's **Great Lives**, guests choose inspirational figures: *bbc.co.uk/programmes/b006qxsb*

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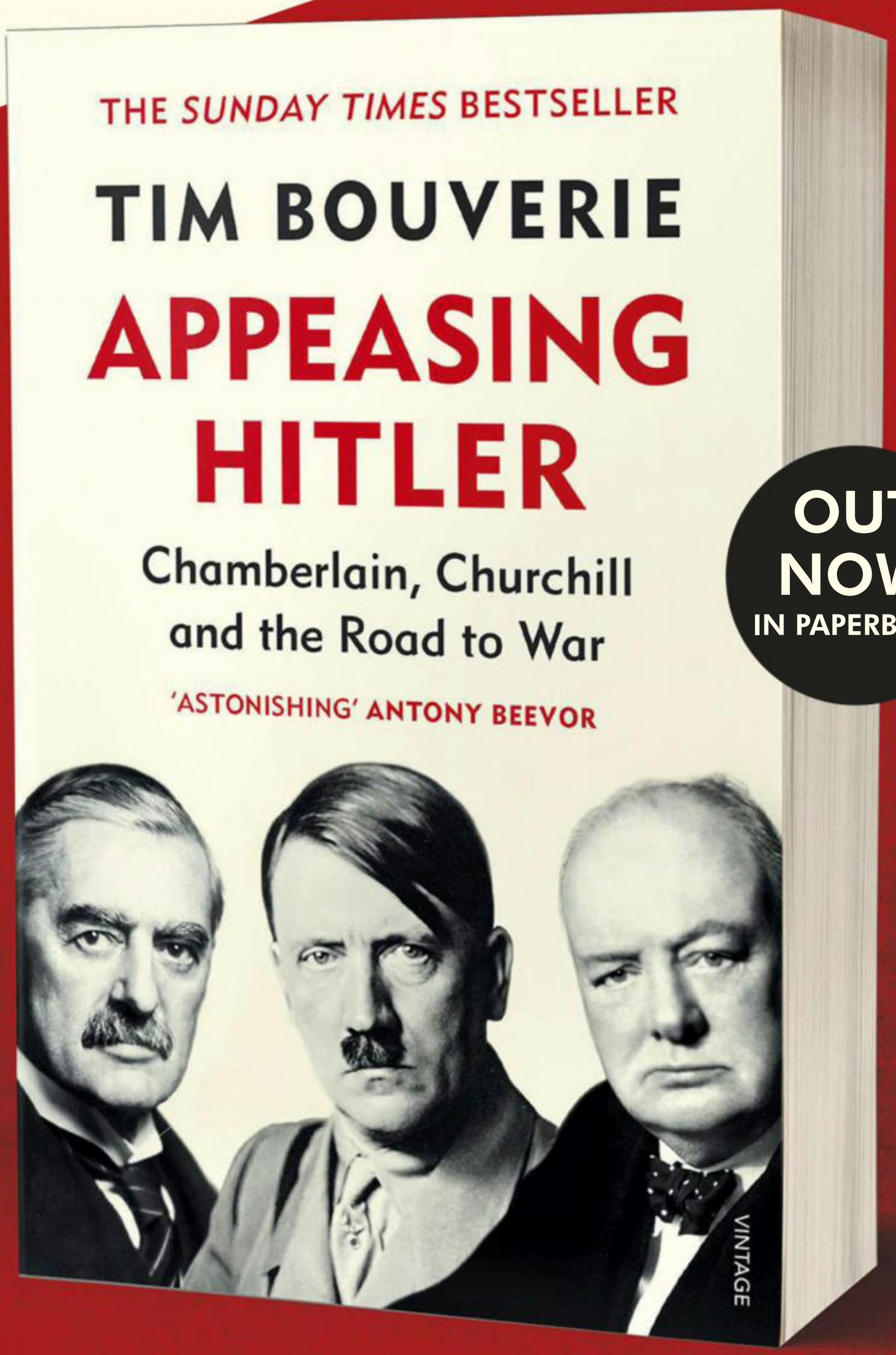
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